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ABSTRACT

A collection of papers resulting from a research project on the role of language in the life of a Puerto Rican community in New York City focuses on the discourse of English and Spanish speakers, especially conversational interaction, speech events, and narratives. The papers include: "Toward a Social Theory of Language Variability" (Alicia Pousada and Mel Greenlee); "The English Vowel System of Puerto Rican New Yorkers" (William Labov, John Myhill, and Alicia Pousada); "Prosodic Analysis of Puerto Rican Speech" (Mel Greenlee); "Theory and Practice in the Study of Discourse Practices, Cultural Formations, Consciousness, and Social Change" (Adrian Bennett and Pedro Pedraza); "Narrative Performance in Social Interaction" (Celia Alvarez); and "Political Dimensions of Discourse: Consciousness and Literacy in a Puerto Rican Neighborhood in East Harlem" (Adrian Bennett and Pedro Pedraza). A review of literature on prosody and a prosodic analysis of English spoken by Puerto Ricans exploring acoustic methods are appended. (MSE)

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SPEECH AND WAYS OF SPEAKING IN A BILINGUAL PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

Final Report to the
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Language Policy Task Force
Center for Puerto Rican Studies
Hunter College, C.U.N.Y

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SPEECH AND WAYS OF SPEAKING
IN A BILINGUAL PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

I. Introduction

1.0 Background

The Language Policy Task Force of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies has long been interested in questions of language choice, distribution, and use among Puerto Ricans in the United States, especially as these relate to education and culture. Over the past eight years we have been investigating language behavior in El Barrio (East Harlem) in New York City, one of the oldest Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. Our work has been based on ethnographic observation of language use in its social context within the community and until recently concentrated primarily on the examination of attitudes held toward languages and their sociopolitical implications, and the quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of certain linguistic processes and features.

Our first research project (Language Policy Task Force 1980) indicated that this is a stable, non-diglossic bilingual community in which Spanish and English are viable in all domains of interaction, separately and in a mixed form known as code-switching which maintains the structural integrity of both languages (see also Pedraza, Attinasi, and Hoffman 1980). Residents value their bilingualism and see the oral maintenance and literate elaboration of

Spanish, along with the acquisition of similar skills in English, as a desideratum for their community, with bilingual education serving as a primary tool in the attainment of that goal (Attinasi 1979). Members of this speech community also recognize that their varieties differ in certain regards from those of other Hispanics and from those of other English-speaking New Yorkers. Our quantitative research into plural marking (Poplack 1980), code-switching (Poplack 1978, 1979; Sankoff and Poplack 1980), and verb system structure (Pousada and Poplack 1979), characterizes Puerto Rican Spanish as a distinct variety existing in a language contact situation but nevertheless retaining the essential structure of standard Spanish.

While there does appear to be a shift in preference toward English on the part of the younger generation of this community, the functioning of a language revitalization life cycle appears to prevent such shift from resulting in language loss or death. In the course of this cycle, young adults temporarily abandon Spanish in adolescence only to revive it once they begin raising families of their own. In addition, the circularity of the migration process between Puerto Rico and N.Y.C. plus the migration and expansion of other Hispanic groups points to the continued maintenance of Spanish. A bilingual community with a strong Puerto Rican identity seems likely to continue at least until the end of this century.

Our second project (Language Policy Task Force 1982) furthered the inquiry by considering in more detail the intergenerational dimensions of bilingualism in this community via the linguistic behavior of the children of these adults. It was primarily concerned with four mutually independent issues which confront the bilingual individual as she/he passes from infancy to childhood and then to adulthood - language choice, language change, language use, and language learning - as well as their ramifications for the community's educational future.

The report confirmed among other things that this is definitely a stable bilingual community in which individual bilingualism is increasingly the norm. While there is interaction between English and Spanish, the Spanish linguistic system has not been destroyed in this language contact situation, and both younger and older speakers agree for the most part in the way in which English words are to enter Spanish monolingual discourse (Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff 1982).

Further evidence of this intergenerational continuity can be seen in the way in which the children have acquired the linguistic norms of the adults at a very early age. They know how to choose appropriate language varieties for particular interlocutors and situations and have also made choices as to how to present themselves linguistically. The report singled out a

3. What relationship do different linguistic and social levels of analysis have to each other and the goals of the research?

The papers included in this volume respond in different fashions to these general theoretical issues.

3.0 The papers

All of the papers are based upon and informed by the corpus of data collected ethnographically over the eight years of the Language Policy Task Force's research in East Harlem. This data base consists of over 300 hours of speech tape recorded from interactions of community residents, young and old, in a variety of situations, along with copious notes on language usage, distribution, and transmission.

The papers represent various stages in the intellectual development of the Language Policy Task Force over the past few years. We had originally, in planning this project, focused upon three major areas which we felt required attention if we were to arrive at a complete portrait of the sociolinguistic situation in El Barrio. These were:

1. the Spanish of English dominant adults;
2. the English of Puerto Rican adults of varying language abilities; and
3. the discourse of English and Spanish speakers, in particular conversational interaction, speech events, and narratives.

The first was postponed due to difficulties in obtaining the data. The second is addressed in the two papers which being related to who people were and who they were addressing, might also be related to what they were trying to communicate. Trying to make sense of what a person says and how he communicates brings together in the same analytical framework the immediate context and the broader social context. Investigating what members of a community are saying to each other gives one insight into what they think of each other, the world around them, and their community. For those interested in politically organizing the community, the variation, complexity, and factors influencing consciousness are more important to know about than the articulation of speakers in slow or rapid, casual or formal, group or individual speech.

Examining speech as discourse would permit us to address these issues fruitfully. This raised for us several theoretical problems. During the project, we attempted to address these problems in an intensive summer institute to which we brought outside researchers to discuss a number of issues confronting us all in our work. The problems were identified as:

1. What theory of meaning are we utilizing implicitly or explicitly when we analyze communication and now do we develop one that will fit our needs;

2. How can the problem of variation be tackled/ treated in a non-correlational manner, and

related to the distribution of forms, and had broadened our appreciation of the cultural and linguistic complexity of the Puerto Rican community which had so confused many scholars because of its apparently anomalous language retention when compared to European immigrant groups.

In the project reported here, we did not let go completely of our past analytical practices in that we extended our structural linguistic studies of the language varieties spoken by Puerto Ricans. This was so because our previous work had provided us with part of the picture of the language reality we were trying to construct, and there was some merit in continuing to accumulate information about other pieces. However, we were becoming increasingly aware of the limitations of this form of analysis. Although such linguistic analyses could be correlated with other social factors, this approach resulted in a mechanical view of the language world of Puerto Ricans. It did not penetrate into the fundamental social processes which (either as adaptation, innovation, or resistance) constituted the sociolinguistic reality of Puerto Rican life in New York City.

In particular, we had a strong sense that much of what was in our data was not being touched by our analytical procedures. There was nothing that addressed what was being said, only how it was being said. We began to see that the way in which people communicated, in addition to number of factors involved in determining the child's language choice, among these the most important being degree of involvement in peer activities on the block and gender (Pedraza and Pousada 1980; Pousada 1982). Other factors such as school program, personality, family language patterns, and broader community norms appear to be secondary, although each child is an individual case.

2.0 The present project

When the Centro began this research project, we were at a crossroads in our thinking about the role of language in the life of the Puerto Rican community. While we had come to understand through the concrete daily experiences of individual members of the community what linguistic forms existed in the communicative repertoire of the community, it was still unclear what they signified in political, social, and historical terms. We also knew something about what people in the community thought about their language practices. These attitudes were useful to some extent especially when compared to those elicited from Puerto Rican intellectuals/professionals (Fishman, Cooper, and Ma 1971), but not enlightening in terms of the connection these beliefs had to broader ideological frameworks, understandings, or consciousness.

In addition, we had come to know a considerable amount about the diversity within the community and the factors attempt to characterize structurally Puerto Rican English vowels and prosody.

The third area was given the greatest attention and indeed came to be the most crucial part of our work as we proceeded (and continue to develop). Our concern with this area is reflected in the paper on discourse practices, cultural formation, consciousness, and social change; the paper on narratives as the embodiment and transmitter of cultural and personal ideology and concept of self; and the paper on discourse, consciousness, and literacy.

In addition to these is the paper which opens the volume. It deals with the larger question of the theoretical assessment of linguistic and cultural variability, an issue pertinent to all three of the areas.

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II. Language and culture variation

Human-kind has been able to manipulate a finite number of natural resources and physical attributes in order to produce an almost infinitely varied and complex tapestry of linguistic and cultural practices. The variability is unquestionable, yet much of social science practice has been directed toward a denial or ignoring of the variation in an attempt to emulate the apparently less variable practices of the physical and natural sciences. The drive toward idealization, generalization, and uniformization has resulted in a failure to deal with the variation which is an integral part of life and in fact probably more characteristic than the homogeneity usually posited. As the anthropologist Wallace (1962:6-7) proposed:

> The magnitude of individual differences within cultural boundaries is recognized as being so large that the analytical problem would appear to be the elucidation of the processes of the organization of diversity rather than the mechanism of inducing a supposed uniformity.

A leading socio and ethnolinguist, Dell Hymes, concurs in this assessment when he states that:

> The future of sociolinguistics lies in...the explanation of the origin, maintenance, change and loss of specific means of speech...the structure of variation, not for its own sake, but as part of human adaptation. (Hymes 1973).

The paper included here in this section is a critical review of the treatment of variation within a number of language-related disciplines and a consideration of a number of key issues necessary for the development of a social theory of language variability. It also serves to lay out the kinds of questions which have concerned this research group in its pursuit of the knowledge necessary for the formulation of socially adequate, responsible, and responsive language policy.

TOWARD A SOCIAL THEORY OF LANGUAGE VARIABILITY

Alicia Pousada and Mel Greenlee

> There is no intrinsic reason why science should not learn to deal with the novel elements in the universe which, after all, are as characteristic of it as the repetitious and regular ones...If we are to master and direct our world, we must learn to cope with the orderly but also with the novel aspects of the universe, even when their novelty is of our own making. (Bernal, The social function of science).

> So long as we do not know how to reconstruct through scientific thought, the limited number of possible changes which any particular structures may carry out, history, as of yesterday and tomorrow, will stand over us like an immense mass of facts pressing with all the weight of its enigmas and consequences... We must therefore go further with our analysis in order to explain the possibilities which depart from the norm, their occurrence or lack of occurrence in other aspects of social life. We ourselves have not been able to go so far, but we have at least recognized the problem. (Godelier, Perspectives on Marxist Anthropology).

1. Introduction

Human social organization is typified by an almost infinite variety of cultural and linguistic manifestations, which are in constant flux. This variability is both societal and individual (if the two can be discussed apart), a result of the general unevenness which characterizes social development, situations of social or ethnic contact, different life stages and their accompanying activities, and individual choices made from among different cultural possibilities.

All communities are full of socially-produced variation which is actually merely a cover term for the constant negotiation of conflict, consensus, cooperation, and contradiction within that community. Language diversity (or "heteroglossia" as Bakhtin calls it) both reflects and responds to contacts with outside social forces and groups - it is a response to changing historical conditions. In fact, this linguistic variation is probably necessary in order to deal with the multiplicity of social forms and currents (some destructive, some productive) which affect individuals and communities.

Linguistic variation is utilized to a great extent by speakers to reflect and reproduce diversity within social structure (as well as modify and reconstruct it) and to maintain existing social differences. This can be seen in the conscious or unconscious selection and manipulation of linguistic forms, be they phonological or morphological segments, prosodic features, lexical items, syntactic permutations, or even entire language varieties, and in the varying sociolinguistic norms for personal address, argumentation, and conversational structuring. Individual speakers vary in linguistic strategies, skills, and experience, and groups of speakers (defined, for example, by sex, age, class, ethnicity, and other sociodemographic features) exhibit recognizable patterns which contrast with and set them off from members of other groups. In short, language (like all cultural behavior) is characterized by constant heterogeneity which is regulated or constrained by social processes and human agency.

In an absolute sense, all social situations are unique and non-recurring; however, people treat some situations as so minimally different that they are seen as the same. Despite the variability present, humans perceive and utilize commonalities and even universals in daily practice. Invariant categories are abstracted and used to organize and classify events and states of existence. The production of categories appears to lend a note of stability and continuity to life, permitting the linkage of presently existing phenomena with those of the past and the unravelling future. Categories act to guide all of consciousness. However, once constituted as social reality, categories are generally taken for granted and unalayzed. Reference is made to the 'normal,' 'natural,' and 'standard,' and that which fails to fit into the categories is seen as 'variation,' 'deviance,' 'error,' 'idiosyncracy,' 'performance features,' or perhaps even 'creativity,' depending on the attitude and ideology of the analyst and the purpose of the analysis. Rarely, however, is the process of creating the categories or the social significance examined.

A socially conscious and radical linguistics like the one we, at the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, are attempting to forge is necessarily interested in examining how variance and invariance are produced in their societal contexts. The social reality of variability is that cultural forms and features are differentially weighted, and people are judged and treated according to the manner in which they use such forms. A radical linguistics must interest itself in the ways in which this social determination of what counts as variation interacts with the ways in which individuals constitute themselves socially and the opportunities available for living out their social potentialities. Of particular importance is how the categories on the basis of which variation is identified are produced, who has the power to produce them, and toward what ends they are produced.

As a Language Policy Task Force, we are also concerned with policy questions. If we are to frame appropriate research questions and utilize our research findings to formulate policy that reflects the needs and concerns of the people upon whom it will impact, then we must face squarely the variable nature of the consciousness, social practices, and language patterns of the community. We must find the means by which to incorporate the richly variegated data of day-to-day existence into generalized statements that in some sense embody the experience of the people we work with, as well as help them better understand their situation and see ways to improve or change it.

Although variability is particularly visible in language, linguistics as a science has tended to skirt (or at least play down) the issue. Traditionally, language has been viewed as a code or self-contained system of elaborate rules and patterns to be examined with minimal reference to social activity or meaning. Linguistic forms are fixed into static texts which (according to positivist and empiricist precepts) permit "objective," decontextualized scrutiny, and actual language use (with all its variability) is avoided or cleaned up in pursuit of the description of underlying grammars and universals. While different schools and sub-areas of linguistics, along with related disciplines, have varied in their rigidity with respect to what is deemed the appropriate object of study, there has been a general consensus that variability presents an obstacle to understanding language as a system, and that a great many human phenomena are best defined as _not_ constituting data for science, for social science, or for linguistics.

To justify this rather large generalization, it would be helpful to examine exactly how different areas of linguistics or language-related disciplines have treated the notion of variability.[1] In this essay, we will critically review the areas of phonology, quantitative sociolinguistics, theoretical or transformational generativist linguistics, language acquisition, and ethnography[2] in terms of:

1. How the concept of variability is articulated and how it has developed historically.
2. How variation (once defined) is described methodologically.
3. What value (scientific and social) it is accorded.
4. How, if at all, it is explained, and
5. What, if anything, is done about it.

We will focus particularly on the problems we see in the traditional treatments and attempt to outline the necessary components of an alternative, socially-based approach to the analysis of language variation. Among the notions which will be discussed are the segmentation of a continuous reality into discrete and invariant categories, the functions of idealization and abstraction, the determination of sameness vs. difference, and the relationship between variability and change.

In order to illustrate the kinds of issues we feel a social theory of language variability must address, we will also examine the relationship between the scientific paradigm and social ideology and its implications for the study of variability, the social creation of categories on the basis of which variability is identified, and the manifestation of social significance through variable linguistic forms.

2. Variation in phonetics and phonology

Phonological variation is one of the most readily obvious and has been the object of considerable attention and theorizing. Such variation has been seen as the key to understanding sound change and its spread both over time (see Jeffers and Lehiste 1979) and across different social groups (cf. Labov 1978, Trudgill 1974, Hudson 1980). It has also been observed that speakers are able to ignore this variability in order to understand one another when social barriers are not imposed (see Locke and Yakov 1982, Studdert-Kennedy 1976).

Critical to the treatment of sound variation has been the relationship between phonetics and phonology and the status of the phoneme as a generalization or idealization of different variants.

The level of phonetics is often viewed as the most concrete and least problematic, since there are agreed-upon universals or tendencies dictated by the physical capabilities of the speech production mechanism. Within these limitations, there is diversity across the inventories of the world's languages with respect to what sounds are utilized and, of these, which become significant or meaning-bearing within the sound system or particular languages; however, there is little concern among phoneticians for variability *per se*.

Despite the seemingly objective nature of phonetics as a descriptive science, there is a process of idealization which takes place in the artificial segmentation of a (semi)continuous flow of sounds. Acoustically-speaking, there is no break between what we refer to as one "sound" and another, and some of the acoustic properties of one sound will be realized on the surrounding sounds. Despite this, all native speakers are able to identify discrete sounds. Even the closest phonetic transcription represents a necessary abstraction from the actual physical record since no two utterances are ever exactly alike and all of the physical properties of any given utterance cannot be captured in writing. Given the universalist interests of phonetics, the failure to capture all this variation is not considered critical, and the variation is treated primarily as product of the physical characteristics of the articulatory organs and the sound waves.

Variation becomes much more salient within phonological analysis. Phonology examines the function of sound segments in a given language and the physical, grammatical, and psychological properties internalized by the native speaker. Key here is another idealization of the concrete phonetic realizations of sound. Phonemic status is traditionally accorded after consideration of the distribution of particular segments in lexical items and through some recourse to speakers' perceptions of sameness/difference and meaningfulness of contrast.[3]

Among structural linguists, there was a division of opinion about the criteria for phonemic status. Whereas Sapir believed that the phoneme constituted a mental category for native speakers, Bloomfield considered psychological reality irrelevant and unscientific for phonological analysis, despite the fact that one of the cornerstones of his analytic method was the commutation test in which informants were asked to judge the phonological similarity of items (see Labov 1978).

European phonologists Trubetskoy and Martinet, as well as others of the Prague School, accorded some value to speakers' mental treatment of phonological variation and to the categorization process of native speakers. Jakobson (1941) went so far as to explore sound symbolism and synaesthesia (feelings generated by sound) in a study directed toward ascertaining universals. The possibility that individual speakers could have distinct mental grammars was not, however, seriously entertained.

In generative phonology (Chomsky and Halle 1968), mental operations of native speaker/hearers took on a central role, although the phoneme of the structuralists was replaced by distinctive feature bundles and the systematic phoneme. The mentalist position described in The Sound Pattern of English has been criticized in recent years, with general agreement that the relationship between the linguist's proposed rules and the speaker's conception of phonology was too close for comfort. Anttila (1974:3) described this relationship as a "photograph" since the underlying forms and rules hypothesized for the language could be found as a "photograph" in the speaker/hearer's mind.

The interface between phonetics and phonology has been of interest to students of second language learning, since the difference between the phonological status of similar phonetic material in different languages was believed to be a source of learners' errors (Brière 1967, Eckman 1977). For example, it was hypothesized that a speaker of Spanish, for whom [d] and [ð] are phonetically conditioned variants of /d/, would experience difficulty in hearing the difference between English /ð/ and /d/ when the distributional characteristics of these two did not match those of Spanish, e.g. in word-initial contexts. Contrastive analysts believed that second-language learners were likely to impose the phonological system of the native language on the second in both speech production and speech perception tasks (e.g. Stockwell and Bowen 1965).

However, it was found that conflicts in phonological status or distribution of speech sounds did not predict the pronunciation of second language learners. Moreover, second language learners were able to detect others' faulty pronunciation while remaining far from perfect in their own L_2 pronunciation (Neufeld 1980). Observations of both first and second language learners' phonological 'errors' have led to questions about the relationship between speech perception and speech production. They have also raised fundamental issues concerning the process by which speakers and listeners come to regard quite different sounds as 'the same'--a process Kuhl (1976) has called "solving the invariance problem."

Recent experimental studies of infant speech perception have shown that the extraction of invariance in the very early stages of exposure to language may be aided by the inherent salience of certain acoustic differences, a psychoacoustic sensitivity perhaps shared with other mammals (Kuhl and Miller 1975). Young infants already judge the same consonant-vowel syllables said by different talkers to be 'the same,' just as adults do. In other ways, however, infants' listening is distinct from adults' in their speech community. For example, Trehub (1976) and Eilers, Gavin, and Wilson (1979) have found that infants can discriminate between speech sounds which adults from the same community cannot differentiate. As the infant acquires skill in producing the phonology of his/her native language, it appears that a certain amount of attention to phonetic variation is lost (see McKain

1982). Nevertheless, the ability to attend to just those parameters of the speech stream which are linguistically relevant is a feat of normalization which eludes even the most sophisticated speech recognition systems of computer technology (Gupta and Mermelstein 1982, Remez et al 1981).

2.1 The role of variation in sound change

That sound changes is no discovery--observations of such changes have existed since Panini (and probably before). The process is generally described as slow and gradual (though abrupt discontinuities are acknowledged in situations of great social upheaval), and suggested causes have run the gamut from ease of articulation to imperfect learning to systemic pressures.

The basic problem in understanding sound change was the difficulty is seeing it in action, of analyzing change in progress. Historical linguists, working primarily from written texts, were able to compare languages at different chronological points and see the change which had transpired. Their comparative methodology enabled them to posit "laws" like Grimm's Law, which describes consonantal shifts which took place in the development of Germanic from Proto-Indo-European. However, only rarely were they able to explain how and why particular changes arose.

The American structuralists (along with the early generativists) took the position that sound change in progress could not be observed (Hockett 1958) and that a single change occurring over a period of time had to be treated as a succession of lesser changes taking place instantaneously (Sommerstein 1977:249 ff). This instantaneous view of sound shift has given way in recent years to more detailed sociolinguistic studies of forms which would be candidates for an on-going change, and to explorations of the social factors responsible for advancing or impeding a sound change. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) demonstrated how the competition of phonological variants leads to the replacement of old forms and adoption of new forms over time, and the work of Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b) and Trudgill (1972, 1974), among many others, has elucidated the nature of the synchronic variation which over relatively short time spans evidences change in process.

What remains unclear is why particular variants are selected by speakers for this competition, and for what purpose, and why this competition arises at certain times and not others. In addition, the fact that there is variation which does not lead to change has yet to be fully confronted. What is its function, and why does it persist?

In short, phonological theory does not provide many clear solutions to the central questions concerning variation and the origin and spread of sound change. This theoretical disarray may be attributed to competing models of individual speakers' roles in the promotion of sound shifts as well as to the analytical methods which have been applied to the continuously variable stream of speech. More important, perhaps, is the failure to account for the active role of the speakers in initiating and carrying through the changes.

3. Variation theory in quantitative sociolinguistics

The notion of variability has been central to the development of sociolinguistic research. In fact, one definition of sociolinguistics could be that area of linguistics which takes as its focus the analysis of the variability found in daily speech. As Trudgill aptly observes:

> One of the main factors that has led to the growth of sociolinguistic research has been the recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a very variable phenomenon, and that this variability may have as much to do with society as with language. A language is not a simple, single code used in the same manner by all people in all situations, and linguistics has now arrived at a stage where it is both possible and beneficial to begin to tackle this complexity (1974:32).

While we would disagree with the assumption implicit in this statement that language and society are somehow separate (and by extension, that linguistics and sociolinguistics somehow deal with different phenomena), the overall chronology presented is basically correct. Variability, being the elusive phenomenon that it is, was avoided (particularly in the days before the tape recorder) by the early linguists who emulated procedures within the so-called "hard" sciences by accounting for linguistic phenomena with categorical rules or laws.

This is not to say that the early linguists did not know about variability. In their phonemic analyses, they often included frequency data on the occurrence of supposed "free" variants. As Labov (1978:344) has argued, the inclusion of such information showed that they realized the skewed distributional nature of these forms and the loss of information which resulted from relegating these variants to the "free" category.

In one sense, quantitative linguistics has dedicated itself to chipping away at that "free" category, showing time and time again that what appeared to be unmotivated variation was actually strongly correlated with certain social factors and processes. Taking its lead from the work of Labov, Cedergren, and Sankoff in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the field has developed a formalistic procedure for dealing with speech variation, namely variable rule analysis. We will therefore explore this area in an attempt to understand how variation is perceived, identified, treated, and explained within a particular conception of what language theory ought to be.

3.1 Variable rule theory

Wolfram (1973) identifies three basic premises for variable rule theory. The first is the notion that language is inherently variable, though not all variation is immediately traceable to contextual (linguistic or social) changes. The second is that variation is systematically patterned or replicably regular, which can be demonstrated by isolating the constraints upon variables and showing the consistent distribution of variants. This regularity has been shown repeatedly by independent studies of the same phenomena (e.g. for Black English Vernacular, see Labov et al 1968, Wolfram 1969, Legum et al 1971, Fasold 1972). Finally, these actual variational patterns are specific to a particular language variety and require description apart from any universal grammar.

These fundamental assumptions are not accepted by all sociolinguists. Inherent variability (especially that which appears non-contextual) smacks of the traditional 'free' variation, a category which quantitative sociolinguistics has done much to undermine.[4] Some sociolinguists (especially those involved in Creole studies like Bickerton, Bailey, De Camp) point to dialect mixture as the source of variation rather than inherent variability, and center their analytic efforts on creating pan- or polylectal grammars rather than variable rules.[5]

However, these basic assumptions can be viewed as the foundation of quantitative sociolinguistics, and along with the notion that variation can be quantified in some manner, constitute a rationale for variable rule analysis. The variable rule concept was developed to incorporate into generative grammar the obvious variable element present in spoken language. Variable rules go beyond generative rules by including quantitative measures which specify the linguistic and 'extra-linguistic' environments in which rules apply and by incorporating weighted optionality into the formal notation. For each set of contexts (linguistic/social), a probability of rule application is associated with each rule.

Variable rule analysis was first done with phonological variables and then extended to syntactic features. More recently, the approach has been applied to functional variation (Shuy et al 1977), semantic variation (Sankoff et al 1978), and 'discourse' (Dines 1980). Code-switching has also been examined via variable rule analysis (Poplack 1978, 1980, Sankoff and Poplack 1980).

The variable rule model is predicated on the notion that variation can be expressed quantitatively in terms of probability of occurrence of alternating features. Procedurally, this involves isolation of all variants tied to an underlying form. An exhaustive list of all the realizations is necessary in order to establish clearly the non-occurrence of a particular variant and so be able to express its frequency of occurrence (and probability of reoccurrence) as a proportion of all potential occurrences.

The process of ascertaining all the variants can be exceedingly problematic. While there is relatively little difficulty in identification when one looks at gross phenomena like the alternation of language varieties in code-switching, other types of alternants may be more elusive to catalogue. Continuous variables have to be reinterpreted as discrete categories. Vowel quality, for example, varies continuously on at least two dimensions. Sociolinguistic studies have coped with this continuous variation by assigning a single vowel 'score' to speakers based on approximation to discrete points along this continuum. This score is then related to other similarly continuous linguistic and social phenomena which are idealized into discrete categories. "At each stage, the method imposes a structure on the data which may be more rigid than was inherent in the data, and to that extent distorts the results" (Hudson 1980:167). Added to this are the transcription decisions which result in loss of information, and the final question of knowing when all variants have been accounted for.[6]

Once the variants are isolated, the environmental constraints are specified--i.e. the linguistic/social factors which are thought to condition the occurrence of the variants. This may be relatively easy to do with the linguistic (or system internal) constraints on phonological and morphosyntactic features (e.g. negation); however, with syntactic and discourse structures, the relationships among the variants may be more obscure. Showing the social contexts and populations presents further problems, as there is little known about the workings of 'extra-linguistic' co-occurrence constraints.

After these basics are accomplished, the analyst begins to make claims about the similarity of variants and posits common underlying forms. The taxonomy is considered complete and ready for quantitative treatment. Variants are coded, counted, and inserted into the variable rule formula. This mathematical formula has evolved from the simple additive equation suggested by Labov (1969), to the multiplicative model of Cedergren and Sankoff (1974), to the currently preferred logistic (or log-based) model of Sankoff and Labov (1979), which takes the form:

$$\frac{p}{1-p} = \frac{p_o}{1-p_o} \times \frac{p_i}{1-p_i} \times \frac{p_j}{1-p_j} \quad \ldots$$

P is the probability that a given variant will occur in a specific context; p_o is the average probability over all contexts; and p_i , p_j etc. are effects produced by various contextual features.

Without going into the mathematics of the variable rule, suffice it to say that once a set of data has been collected and counted, and a statement can be made about the frequency of use of the variants in specific environments, then the analysis moves to determining the amount of influence each environmental feature exerts upon the selection process. Such calculations are made via a form of multivariate analysis utilizing a statistical method known as maximum or log likelihood which measures how well a set of estimated influences correspond to the data set. The significance of the differences of likelihood of two analyses is measured by chi-square tests applied in multiple regression. More simply put, variables are coded as being potentially affected by a number of linguistic and other factors. Then statistically the significant factors are determined and ranked, and a final statement is made about the contribution of specific constraints to the realizations of specific variables.

In brief, then, we have the basic approach of variable rule analysis, a statistically-based, presumably 'scientific' way of dealing with variation in speech behavior. However, there are a number of unsatisfying aspects to this approach which must be considered here.

As mentioned earlier, the approach is clearly taxonomic and correlative. Contextual factors corresponding in some way to linguistic features are selected, catalogued, and correlated within grammatical rules without evaluation of the phenomena involved or the criteria for selection. There is no scrutiny of what any correlations reveal about social organization, nor why certain categories are used in the first place and not others. Furthermore, the approach is not dynamic or historical. While it does indeed have the capacity to describe some kinds of language change by positing rule changes, in the attempt to arrive at abstract rules there is a freezing of social process.

Underlying all of this is the question of how theory and science itself are viewed. An intricate means for describing language variation and representing certain changes in the language has been developed, but no truly substantive theory of variation as a social phenomenon. And there seems to be little inclination on the part of quantitative sociolinguists to go beyond replicating Labov's work and results for countless other features and social groups. In their conviction that an empiricist and positivist conception of science is the only 'scientific' one and in their acceptance of the conventional wisdom that ideology has no place in science, these scholars appear to have confused heuristics with theory and side-stepped that which should be the primary focus of their attention--social process and consciousness. As a result, the 'socio' part of sociolinguistics is tremendously under-developed and theoretically inadequate, resting on antiquated categories and a conciliatory type of relativity which accepts rather than questions social inequalities and class contrasts (Dittmar 1976).

As we shall see throughout this essay, this is a general problem in language-related (and other) science and can only be confronted by a radical reassessment of the nature of scientific inquiry.

4. The treatment of variation in theoretical linguistics

Transformational generative linguistics (which is tellingly considered by many to be the only 'theoretical' linguistics) represents a dramatic change in linguistic theorizing from the behaviorist/structuralist model which predominated before the publication of Chomsky's Syntactic Structures in 1957. While still essentially 'structuralist' in that language is seen as a hierarchially-designed structure whose description and explanation is achieved via the accumulation of information about constituent elements, the transformational generative (TG) approach does not rely on a stimulus-response model of language acquisition or transmission. Rather, emphasis is placed upon the innate and creative aspects of language as a cognitive entity.

From a TG position, the goal of linguistic analysis is to represent the regularities of language as internalized rules of grammar which are used by speakers to generate utterances, a goal shared in part by sociolinguistics, as we have just seen. However, the TG approach is based upon the premise that knowledge of grammatical rules is completely different from the act of speaking, and, in fact, that speaking represents a deviant and degenerate form of language. Thus, in contrast to sociolinguistics, generative linguistics sees as the object of study the competence or innate human ability to produce and comprehend sentences, rather than the performance or actual production of speech in daily interaction.[7]

This has tremendous implications for the way variation is viewed and treated by the generativists. Chomsky (1968:52-53) describes his position as follows:

> ...to account for the normal use of language we must attribute to the speaker-hearer an intricate system of rules that involve mental operations of a very abstract nature, applying to representations that are quite remote from the physical signal. We observe, furthermore, that knowledge of language is acquired on the basis of degenerate and restricted data and that it is to a large extent independent of intelligence and of wide variations in individual experience.

In other words, the TG grammarian completely pulls away from any treatment of language as it is spoken (considered to be "damaged goods") and thus away from dealing with the variation embodied in it. The variability of cultural and social experience is dismissed as irrelevant to the development of language in the individual; instead there is vague reference to 'normal' language and a concern with the underlying cognitive system or universally internalized system of rules which makes human language possible. (This is consistent with Chomsky's personal view of linguistics as a branch of cognitive psychology.) Language variation or diversity is merely a phenomenon of surface structures and not the critical deep structure which remains stable despite variations in human intelligence, learning conditions, ability to use language, vocabulary development, etc.

Chomsky makes very clear his opinion of the study of language as a social phenomenon (1968:87):

> One cannot quarrel with the desire of some investigators to study 'the acquisition and maintenance of actual occurrences of verbal behavior.' It remains to be demonstrated that this study has something to do with the

> study of language. As of now, I see no indication that this claim can be substantiated.

While the TG position has softened somewhat over the years and Chomsky himself has acknowledged the contributions of sociolinguistic research to our understanding of the nature of 'language,' there is still a strong aversion to dealing with language as anything but an abstract, self-contained, a-historical phenomenon.

In order to effect this distancing from language as it is spoken, the generativists 'idealize' or abstract language as they experience it. This involves eliminating 'ungrammatical' utterances or 'deviations' which they attribute to memory lapses, inattention, psychological malfunctions, etc. In their view, the data must be cleaned up before they can be analyzed, in actuality, they do not consider such phenomena as data and therefore do not include them intheir analyses. In this respect, the generativists are still very much in the Bloomfieldian structuralist tradition which limited linguistic analysis to invariant language samples. The Bloomfieldians avoided universal or abstract explanations and emphasized taxonomies, whereas the Chomskyans posit underlying abstractions. However, the two approaches are based upon a doctrine of linguistic homogeneity.

Chomsky explains the process of idealization in an exceedingly candid and even humble moment:

> Evidently, knowledge of language--the internalized system of rules--is only one of the many factors which determine how an utterance will be used or understood in a particular situation. The linguist who is trying to determine what constitutes knowledge of a language--to construct a correct grammar--is studying one fundamental factor that is involved in performance, but not the only one. This idealization must be kept in mind when one is considering the problem of confirmation of grammars on the basis of empirical evidence. (1968:23)

In his discussion of Chomsky's work, Lyons (1970:39) defends this idealization yet recognize some of the problems inherent in such an approach:

> Chomsky is clearly right to claim for linguistics the same right to disregard some of the 'raw data' as is accepted as normal in other sciences. There are, of course, serious problems, both practical and theoretical, involved in deciding what constitutes extraneous or linguistically irrelevant factors; and it may well be that, in practice, the 'idealization' of the data advocated by Chomsky does tend to introduce some of the normative considerations that marred much of traditional grammar.

Lyons evokes support for Chomsky from the practice of other sciences and suggests that the approach taken toward variability and deviation may have come to linguistics during its search for scientific legitimacy.[8] This possibility warrants consideration as it reflects the larger question to which we keep returning in this essay - that of what constitutes science and scientific data.

To summarize, we have seen that as far as so-called theoretical linguistics is concerned, language variation is really not on the agenda at all. If this section has been somewhat sparse, it accurately reflects the amount of attention given to the question by the TG grammarians. It is interesting to note in closing that although the concern of generativists with the innovative, creative, and potentially infinite aspects of language could bring them to the study of variation and diversity, these attributes are seen as aspects of the rule-generating faculty of human beings rather than any socially and attitudinally determined or influenced manipulation of linguistic resources.

This concern with creativity does emerge in the recent work on language acquisition, which is the focus of the next section.

5. Variability in language acquisition

Up until the 1950's, the prevailing conception of children's language (with the exception of Piaget and Vygotsky) was as a scattered and imperfect collection of mistakes made in the process of imitating adult language. In the 1960's the field of child language study advanced considerably under the impetus of two hypotheses put forth by generative grammarians (1) children's language reflects a system rather than a collection of random errors, and (2) the child, like the linguist, constructs the most economical and general rules possible to account for the input language data.

Although considerable variation was evident in children's output, much of this could be attributed to performance factors, i.e., limitations of the young organism in productive speech. The very great emphasis Chomsky (1965) placed on the innate endowments of the child for choosing grammars doubtless diverted attention from crucial ways in which differences in children's internal make-up (preferences or styles) or external environment (including patterns of interaction with older speakers) could influence the acquisition process.

Current trends in first language acquisition research show a reaction against universalist , genetic explanations for language acquisition, which are now viewed as overly deterministic. However, like the research of the 1960's, present investigations tend to retain a strong cognitive interest, although this is tempered by growing evidence of differences in adults' expectations about children's language in different cultures (Cf. Schieffelin 1979). For example, a recent text on children's language (Bloom & Lahey 1978:61) states that it is probable that "... variation in child speech is a function of individual cognitive development in interaction with a variety of different experiences that children have with aspects of the linguistic code...". However, within the variability evidenced by children still lies, for these researchers, an underlying conformity:

> If regularity in variation is not immediately apparent it may be that too few behaviors have been observed, too few children have been observed, or the analysis of behaviors and the indices used to compare behaviors may not be sufficiently sensitive. (167).

Recent studies of young children acquiring the same language under similar conditions have pointed up inter and intra-subject variability at all levels of language structure and language use, e.g., phonology (Macken & Ferguson 1981; Leonard, Newhoff & Mesalam 1980), morphology and syntax (Bloom, Lightbown & Hood 1975), semantics of early words (Nelson 1975; Bloom 1973), and in the child's interaction with his or her caretaker (Heath 1982).

The extent of variation uncovered by these studies is somewhat remarkable given the relative homogeneity of the populations studied. Counter to the expectations of Bloom & Lahey, it seems that the more closely one looks at any population of children, the more likely it is that variability will be found.[9]

At present, the long-range implications of variation in language acquisition are far from clear. Studies of children's varied strategies for acquiring aspects of English structure have generally focussed on quite limited, discrete structural components as indices of development. In Bloom & Lahey's terms, these indices are not, in fact, very 'sensitive' to variation. Wells (1981:112) points out that "the type of variation that has received most attention so far is the rate at which language is acquired," perhaps because of its easily quantifiable and therefore 'scientific' nature. From this product-oriented interest, some acquisition strategies are viewed as more efficient than others, since they appear to bring along with them a larger vocabulary or a longer mean length of utterance.

The most well-known of these styles are those identified by Katherine Nelson (1973, 1975, 1981) in examining children's earliest vocabularies. She found that some children produced mostly names for objects and people, while others tended to pick up on social expressions (greetings, leave-taking etc.) and include these in their early vocabulary. In a follow-up study (1975), children who produced more names tended to be more advanced in the rate of language acquisition.

However, subsequent reviews of Nelson's data have often ignored the fact that these styles are a matter of degree. Peters (1983 :43) notes, "these extremes are generally considered to define the end-points of continua along which most children are ranged, very few being clearly at one pole or the other." Peters also raises the important possibility that children may use both strategies, but at different points in the acquisition period or for different conversational contexts. Since analysts have been oriented toward the product rather than the process of acquisition, it can be argued that they have made questionable assumptions about how children go about the task of language learning one of the more damaging being that children carry out the task in the same way a linguist would. Specifically, Peters believes that child language researchers have falsely assumed that (1) children use the same units of analysis as do linguists, and (2) development, for the most part, is additive and linear.

Drawing together data from very young children acquiring a number of typologically different languages, Peters shows that the first language units of the child are likely to be much larger than the linguist's, with differences remaining as late as five years of age in matters such as morpheme boundaries. Factors influencing the child's process of extracting adult-size units are the type of speech to which he or she is exposed, community expectations about the child's knowledge and use of language, and those individual factors of neurological and psychological development which the child brings to the task.

Since the language acquisition strategies of the 'normal' child are clearly variable across time and across individuals,[10] the exceptionality of learning or language disabled children can be regarded as an extreme of a familiar phenomenon, rather than a typologically different process. Learning disabled children are exceptional "not in having access to totally different strategies, but rather in the relative degree to which they can use the same strategies' (Peters 1983 :68). As an example, Peters cites Weeks' (1974) subject Leslie, a cognitively precocious child who nevertheless learned English more slowly than usual. Leslie apparently "had limited access to certain strategies while making fuller use of others" --a kind of'compensation' by which she eventually gained control of the linguistic code.

To summarize, major limitations of variability in child language data seem to have come about through an unwitting conspiracy among methods of conceptualization, data collection, and analysis which systematically excluded certain sorts of relevant information.

First of all, the majority of studies have been concerned with a particular population of children, sampled cross-sectionally. Thus, major social and temporal variation has been left out.

Secondly, in sampling children's language, specific studies have focussed on only one discrete aspect of language at a time, obscuring the 'synergistic' nature of interaction among different strategies or different components of the child's developing system. In addition, coding procedures have generally excluded unintelligible or seemingly stereotypic utterances, thus leaving out many of those utterances which would provide insight into a holistic or gestalt production strategy such as that Peters has suggested young children may use.

Further omissions have resulted from the way in which subjects are chosen for study and speech is elicited and recorded. A great many studies have excluded very young children, since they do not often cooperate well in experimental settings. Yet these children may be those for whom variability is most apparent. Also, in sampling caretaker-child speech, the setting and instructions have often been such as to encourage picture naming or other types of elicitation interactions which are geared toward a 'referential' child style (Peters 1983).

Perhaps even more critical is the lack of research addressing the reality that children are agents, or in the process of becoming agents. They develop "strategies," not to acquire a linguistic system, but to participate actively in their social positioning. The predominant trend within acquisition research is to see children as learning machines without considering how issues of power, resistance, and accomodation come into play as the child learns. The variability in language acquisition which has been so well-documented is never related to the social needs and struggles of the child as s/he attempts to survive in and understand the adult world.

In the next section, we will examine the discipline which is perhaps most directly involved with such questions of variability of human social practice--anthropology via ethnographic inquiry.

6. Ethnographic persepectives on variability

Anthropologists have always been concerned with questions of diversity and variation. One critical goal of the ethnographic approach, which is the backbone of anthropology, is to delve deeply into everyday human life in order to reveal the rich detail specific to each group, and by probing this diversity, learn something about the possibilities available to the species as a whole.

The ethnographer encounters variability at every step of the fieldwork experience. There is the variability that arises from certain biophysical properties which are defined socially as counting for differences among people (e.g. sex, age, personality, ethnic or racial group, etc.). There is the variation which is the result of differing human activities, and there is that which is produced by personal choices among the cultural options provided by social groups. Variability is also seen in the numerous aspects of self that informants reveal under changing situations or with different fieldworkers, as well as in the contrast between reports of behavior and actual behavior.

The ethnographer's task is very difficult given the wealth of experiential data confronting him or her.

There must necessarily be some kind of abstraction from all of this richness, and yet the richness appears to be one of the unique contributions of ethnography to the study of social life. This conflict of needs is clearly visible when one examines theoretical developments over time within the field of ethnography.

In his introduction to Reinventing Anthropology, Dell Hymes (1969) points out the dangers of focusing exclusively on the general (common) or on the specific (differential):

> Concern with only what is common, with similarities, with universals, may constitute a philosophical anthropology, a psychology or biology, characterizing man as an abstract being. Concern with only the general contour of development, general laws, or a single level of explanation, may constitute a sociology or history of a certain kind. Concern with only what is different may yield precise ethnography and ethnology. Neither kind of concern alone can constitute the anthropology of the tradition intended here. And at their worst, the one-sidedness of the one may lead to the imposition of a priori notions, distortion, and the rationalization of injustice; that of the other may never rise above exoticism or may devolve into sterile empiricism. (12-13)

The conflict between the general and the specific, sometimes referred to as 'macro vs micro', can be seen throughout ethnographic literature. The ethnographic approach attempts to avoid this conflict by emphasizing holistic views of culture.[11] In other words, an activity is seen in its ecological interrelationship with other behavior within a functional system.

Particular events are interpreted as integral units of 'cultural wholes' (Kroeber 1957) with cohesive internal structure which are additionally related to one another in larger systems.

While holistic views are theoretically salutary in that they foster a concern with relations of behaviors and struggle against the atomization of knowledge so common within modern scientific practice, the holistic perspective has also resulted in a tendency to overemphasize homogeneity within groups and focus excessively upon order and coherence to the neglect of exceptions and differences. Internal variation was until recently "either simply dismissed or artificially worked into the scheme as indices of change, diffusion, survival, innovation, dysfunction, abnormality, cultural disintegration, opportunities for the exercise of social control and the like. The only important variations were variations between cultures" (Tyler 1969:3).

This failure to deal adequately with variation as produced and manipulated by the individuals who together actively constitute social groups has limited the explanatory power of ethnography. As Agar (1980) points out:

> Variation like that is only a threat to a social scientist committed to a monolithic portrait of group life. Unfortunately, the quest for the 'normative order', deeply engrained in many social science traditions, has sometimes blinded us to the many important lessons for the ethnographer when confronted with variability as well as uniformity. (79-80)

In order to clarify the different stances taken by ethnographers with respect to intra and inter-group variability and continuity, we will briefly review the recent history of the field. As our over-riding concern is with linguistic variation, we will focus upon that anthropological work most directly related to language.

6.1 The treatment of linguistic and cultural variability within anthropology

As we have already indicated, anthropologists have vacillated between documentation of the cultural detail of specific social groups and delineation of universal patterns common to all groups. Within the first broad category falls the work of Boas and the historical particularists,[12] as well as the configurationalist work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead[13] and Kroeber's attempt to derive trait element lists for particular groups.[14] Within the second category falls the mentalist-oriented research of the English social anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, and Malinowski[15] and the French structuralists like Lévi-Strauss.[16]

We cannot go into the very important work of these scholars because, with the exception of Lévi-Strauss, they were not concerned with language *per se*. However, it was upon the foundation of these efforts that ethnoscience and the "new" ethnography[17] were built, as well as their modern off-shoots, all of which *have* emphasized language.

Much of the impetus for the development of ethnoscience came (like structuralism) from linguistics, which during the 1950's was a thriving social science with seemingly impeccable technologies for analysis. The anthropological work inspired by the theoretical controversies beginning between the behaviorist and mentalist conceptions of language was characterized by attempts to formulate rules by which cultural categories could be empirically ordered. Goodenough's componential analysis is one such attempt, as are the kinesic analysis of Birdwhistell and the kinship analysis of Lounsbury.

A major problem of the ethnoscientific or ethnosemantic research is that variation is largely ignored or seen as irrelevant. The ethnoscientist searches for immutable categories which presumably represent the underlying mental apparatus of the entire culture. There is little consideration of the variable exposure to cultural phenomena and access to technical vocabulary which is the case in many groups, particularly in complex and hierarchically-ordered societies, and there is a tendency to lean upon evidence provided by single informants.

One area of ethnoscience which developed during the 1960's, typical of much of the work currently done within anthropological linguistics, is the ethnography of speaking or communication. The focus of study in this new application of ethnography (first articulated by Hymes in 1962 and developed further in 1964, 1967, 1972) is the speech event. The approach is similar to the componential paradigm which characterized other ethnoscientific efforts in that it is concerned with the structure of relations among the various components of speech events--the setting, participants, ends, acts, key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre--and the ethnographer's task is to test, enlarge, and revise this grid based upon the emic perceptions of the speakers.

Studies in the ethnography of speaking have examined such events as contrapuntal conversations (Reisman 1974), greetings (Irvine 1974, Salmond 1974), narratives (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1974, Darnell 1974), male and female speech (Keenan 1974), and even silence (Basso 1972); and the overall goal of the field has been to continue the proliferation of such studies so as to permit cross-cultural comparisons of the diversity which exists in the ways speech is manipulated and the uses to which it is put in different cultures. This goal has only partially been realized, but an even more important failing has been the putting aside in many cases of holistic thinking in the pursuit of greater detail in description. It is furthermore the exceptional ethnography of speaking that does not fall into the trap of treating language apart from society, and that does seek deeply within social conditions for explanations of linguistic variation and its significance.[18]

This has also been the case with the micro-ethnographic studies of interactional events which utilize linguistic and 'paralinguistic' analysis of video-taped behavior to address very small units of behavioral patterns in specific social settings. The focus of work in this area has been on the form and organization of social exchanges, the sociocultural competence underlying behavior, and the potential and real cultural conflicts existing among participants. The great bulk of the research has involved school settings (cf. Bremme 1976, Shultz 1976, Erickson 1975, McDermott and Gospodinoff 1979, Michaels 1981, Au and Jordan 1981, Mohatt and Erickson 1981), and a good percentage of these studies have involved children of ethnically or racially different backgrounds, which has brought the issue of linguistic and cultural diversity and variation to the forefront.

However, few micro-ethnographies attempt to relate the careful, detailed analysis of micro-structures to the larger environment that shapes them, and indeed, the very distinction between 'micro' and 'macro' structures is taken for granted and unanalyzed in terms of its theoretical and social implications (see Bennett and Pedraza's papers in this volume for further consideration of this problematic). Few micro-ethnographers leave the school or institutional setting to examine the communities that house the setting and the participants in the interactions under study. There is clearly a severe lack of social theory behind the ever more sophisticated structural analysis.

Most recently have come certain challenges to the traditional conceptions of ethnography and anthropological theory, threads of which run through the other schools of anthropology reviewed here, in particular the ethnoscientific and the micro-ethnographic. Among these are the symbolic or interpretive and the neo-marxist analyses.

Symbolic or interpretive anthropology conceives of culture as a system of symbols or a web of significances. Every artifact or event represents a coming together of significances reflective of the collective mental life of the people. The anthropologist is responsible for deciphering the meaning of these symbols. Empirical access to the symbols is gained through an examination of cultural events and the way they are spoken about. The interpretation of what happens is rooted in the context of the event--how, where, when, why it took place, what people say and do about it, and how it relates to other events. As Geertz (1973:19) put it: "anthropological interpretation consists in tracing the curve of a social discourse, fixing it into an inspectable form." In other words, the interpretation captures what is "said" (meaning) in forms which can be perused long after the event is past and forgotten. Cultural phenomena examined in this way by interpretive researchers have included law, politics, art, common sense, the 'self,' etc. (cf. Geertz 1983, Wagner 1981).

The symbolic or interpretive anthropologists have been concerned with variation in terms of the question of representativeness and scientific verification of interpretations. Geertz (1973: 22-23) correctly placed variation at the heart of the anthropological problem:

> The great natural variation of cultural forms is, of course, not only anthropology's great (and wasting) resource, but the ground of its deepest theoretical dilemma; how is such variation to be squared with the biological unity of the human species? But it is not, even metaphorically, experimental variation, because the context in which it occurs varies along with it, and it is not possible (though there are those who try) to isolate the y's from the x's to write a proper function.

Geertz does not see any other way of dealing with the variation except through the standard positivistic/empirical approach of laboratory controls, which he appropriately rejects as untenable in social science, and he leaves it at that. In general, the symbolic anthropologists have not developed a theory of cultural interpretation which confronts variation squarely. They see generalization within cases as necessary for the positing of symbolic meaning, but have not been successful in generalizing their findings across cases or cultures. In addition, they do not relate symbolic meaning to any political or economic forces.

Marxist and neo-marxist approaches to anthropology have focused primarily upon such broader issues, in particular the effects of capitalism on social and cultural life in colonized nations and capitalist centers, with some recent work on the structure and development of pre-capitalist societies (see Bloch 1975 and Seddon 1978). This concentration on economics as the determining element in human history is a misinterpretation of Marx, who actually stressed that many other elements were involved and could override the economic in their influence at times. As Lenin (1960: 161-2) pointed out, Marx and Engels "were the first socialists to raise the need to analyze all aspects of social life and not only the economic."

Bloch's (1983) account of the relationship between anthropology and Marxism goes back to Marx and Engels' reliance on Lewis Henry Morgan's fieldwork and theory in their development of an evolutionary approach to culture formation. Marx was genuinely concerned with social variation, since this variability illustrated different human responses to changing economic, technological, and social conditions, and helped him prove that capitalism was not the only way to organize society.

But Marx was most interested in proposing general laws of social development which necessitated temporarily putting aside much of the variation he acknowledged. This concern with evolution and general laws was reduced by many of his followers to a conception of unilineal evolutionism in which societies marched inexorably through fixed stages toward communism. Lenin opposed this line of thinking because of the complex cultural variation he witnessed in his dealings with the Russian peasantry; however, the controversy between unilineal and multilineal explanations continued for several decades in the Soviet Union and elsewhere among Marxists.

In the 1950's and '60's, the multilineal schemata began to win out, and most present-day Soviet scholars believe that although general principles may govern cultural evolution, each case is distinct. Different evolutionary lines are followed in different locales, and not all societies pass through the same stages. While there is a strong effort to establish the general unitary tendencies, there is also a willingness to consider the variability which exists, particularly in the examination of archaic or 'primitive' groups traditionally viewed as classless and homogeneous (see Seddon 1978).

Leacock (1982) examines four types of Marxist or Marxist-inspired studies which have developed outside of socialist countries since the 1960's--Third World and radical critiques of anthropology, feminist research, French Marxist anthroplogy, and the (non-Marxist) 'cultural materialism' of Marvin Harris. Because of the political climate of capitalist countries, Marxist anthropology has only just begun to develop there. Different interpretations and reinterpretations of Marxism have been put forward. (We cannot discuss these here, but see Kahn 1974, Diamond 1979, and Wolf 1982).

The available literature on Marxist anthropology, both in socialist and non-socialist countries , indicates relatively little anthropological work on language variability. The reason for this is not entirely clear, since as can be seen in Arutynov (1980), there is also widespread recognition that language is critical in ethnodifferentiation and in formation and preservation of ethnic identity. However, there appears to be no explicit statement of theory about language variability.

This may be due (at least in the Soviet Union and China) to the preoccupation with practical problems like national unification, multilingualism, development of written languages, etc. It may also be that language variability is seen as falling within the realm of sociology or social linguistics, and indeed the work of sociolinguists of Germany like Dittmar (1976) and the Soviet Union like Avrorin (1977), indicate an appreciation of the problematic.

Despite this apparent lack, Marxist anthropology does offer a very important tool in developing a social theory of language variability--and that is its approach to understanding human social organization and historical development via dialectical and historical materialism. This approach will be discussed more fully later in this paper.

7.0 Central issues for a social theory of language variability

Our review of the treatment of language variation within a number of language-related disciplines has revealed a kind of ambivalence toward the phenomenon. On the one hand, the existence of variation at all levels of language structure and its relation to social structure has been fairly well documented. The development of tape recorders, spectrographs, computers, video recorders, etc., has permitted detection of fine-grained variation and graphic comparison of different speakers' utterances. Variable rule analysis has made possible the mathematical depiction of the variation and its probabilities of occurrence. Sampling and testing techniques have become very refined. In all, there has been a good deal of technological advance with respect to the quantitative treatment of the variation.

On the other hand, most linguistic research proceeds on the implicit assumption that this variation doesn't *really* matter and that looking at language as a homogeneous entity divorced from social practice is productive, convenient, and theoretically unproblematical. Even among those who focus upon variation and whose professional (and daily) practice tells them that language is nothing if not a social construction, there exists a strong tendency to view language in opposition to social reality, an opposition that they describe (and claim to explain) via a number of correlations between the two domains of human enterprise.

However, this dualism of language and society, more than anything else, has kept linguistics from developing real understanding of language variation, why it exists, and its function and role in language change and social differentiation. Only by casting aside this dualism and seeing language as an integral part of society, created and used by humans in their social relations, can the scientific study of language move beyond technological refinement to a truly adequate theory based in practice and capable of guiding that practice.

The kind of social theory of language variation we envision would be based upon a unitary analysis of language and society. It would, by necessity, be dialectical, materialist, and historical in order to deal productively and concretely with the relations among the forms, the constant struggles among them, and the development of new forms according to social needs. It would also have to be flexible enough to respond to the shifting nature of social reality. And most important, it would have to be 'self-aware' in that it would have to recognize its own social nature and its vulnerability to social process.

By way of illustrating the kinds of issues with which this theory would be concerned in trying to account for language variation, we will examine three critical areas which have been neglected by traditional linguistic analyses:

1. the role of the scientific paradigm or ideology in determining the way language variation is treated
2. the social creation of categories on the basis of which language variation is identified
3. the social significance or meaning manifested in language variation.

7.1 Science and ideology

The general perception of science, especially by lay people is as "an exact and impartial analysis of the facts" (Conant 1951:22). The assumption that science is objective and ideology-free is so accepted in our society that many researchers retreat behind it and refuse, on the one hand, to consider certain phenomena to fall within the realm of science because they are ideologically 'tainted' and, on the other hand, fail to see the ideological frame which encloses their own scientific practice.[19] This conception of science comes directly out of the positivist and empiricist schools of philosophy which were current during the 19th century when scientific discovery and industrialization were advancing hand in hand. In order to understand better the way variation has been dealt with, it is important to examine the positivist/empiricist tradition and its implications for the world-view and practice of both natural and social scientists.

7.1.1 Positivist/empiricist philosophy

Positivism was first formulated by August Comte, a 19th century French philosopher and sociologist, as a solution to the controversy waged between idealists and materialists.[20] According to Comte's Course of Positive Philosophy (1830-42), this approach is above both idealism and materialism and represents 'science.' Positivism maintains that human understanding is limited and that it is useless to try and comprehend the 'essence' of things; rather what understanding we are capable of must come solely from 'experience,' which is defined as that which is felt or observed by the senses.

Comte, borrowing heavily from Condorcet and Saint-Simon, described human social and intellectual evolution as having passed through a theological and metaphysical stage, and saw a new stage--the positive or scientific--as characterizing the developments of his day and the future.[21] "Positive' to Comte meant an orientation to the actual, certain, exact, useful, and relational, all of which ostensibly characterize that knowledge which is obtained via systematic observation.

Positivism, in the Comtean sense, did not acquire much of a following; however, positivistic thinking, as resuscitated by Durkheim (minus the social stages) and passed on to the logical positivists of the Vienna Circle in the early 20th century, survives today and forms the philosophical base of current scientific practice. Giddens (1978) describes the general positivist paradigm as including the following:

1. Belief in phenomenalism, i.e. reality = sense impressions
2. Aversion to metaphysics
3. View that philosophy is apart from and foreign to science
4. Belief in duality of fact and value, i.e. science ≠ ideology
5. Belief in unity of natural and social sciences[22]

In addition, positivism denies causal necessity, denies the existence of objective reality, and denies the possibility of a science that can do more than describe sensation. Although positivism appears to be a materialist stance, by denying objective reality and clinging to the idea that there are unknowables, positivism leaves open the door to faith and theology, in other words, to idealism.

These positivist notions are closely allied to empiricist thinking also current during the same period. Empiricism (particularly the materialist variety of Hobbes and Locke) developed in opposition to the rationalist (though religious) views of philosophers like Descartes who belittled experience and observation as misleading and who contended that knowledge comes only through reasoning. Empiricism maintains that reason cannot be trusted and that the only knowledge that exists is that which we directly perceive via our senses.[23] Idealist empiricism, typified by the work of the agnostic Hume, and the empirio-criticism of Mach and Avenarius, concurred with Comte in the limitation of 'experience' to the sensations or impressions we get about existence, without recognition of the concrete material base of these sensations. Following this line of logic, Mach asserted that physics is the study of the laws and connections of sensations, rather than matter or forces.

Lenin made very explicit the severe drawbacks of this kind of thinking in his Materialism and empirio-criticism (1909). First of all, by giving primacy to sensations over matter and reducing 'thing' to 'mental symbol for a complex of sensations,' the positivist/empiricist philosophies reiterate Bishop Berkeley's subjective idealism of 200 years previous which led him only to solipsism, or the position that since everything is the product of my mind, I am the only thing that exists. As Lenin pointed out, both scientific inquiry and common sense recognize sensation as one of the properties of matter--"the transformation of external excitation into the fact of consciousness' (51). In other words, practice itself indicates that things do exist independent of our thoughts or sensations, and lay people and scientists both organize their lives around this fact. Secondly, the denial of objective reality of matter reflected by our sensations goes contrary to scientific discovery and leads only to agnosticism and scepticism. Third, the denial of the role of human reason in the attainment of knowledge reduces *homo sapiens* to a mere receptor rather than a producer of understanding and is an inherently reactionary position.

Habermas (1971) takes this last point even further and shows that a major problem with positivist/empiricist thinking lies in its claim to 'objectivism,' which gives the illusion of an independent world of facts and laws and conceals the *a priori* constitution of facts. 'Facts' are social constructs and do not exist *per se* until humans designate them. (This will be taken up further in the next section of this paper.)

In the U.S., the positivist/empiricist paradigm was further complemented by pragmatism, as exemplified by the thinking of Charles Peirce, William James, and John Dewey. Pragmatism, the philosophical offspring of capitalism, denies that there is any real 'truth' or knowledge to be found outside of the individual experience. Science is valuable not as a reflection or explanation of any objective reality but rather as a utilitarian instrument for anticipating future experience and achieving certain ends.[24] This attitude replaces 'truth' with 'usefulness,' understood in terms of individual experience or consciousness, not social practice on the general human scale, and permits the promulgation of different and even contradictory explanations of the universe, if these are what individuals experience as true in their lives. Under this kind of pluralism, individuals can profess those beliefs which are most useful to them.[25]

It is thus a blend of positivist, empiricist, and pragmatist notions that, as Habermas puts it, has held a 'cognitive monopoly' in much of (non-Marxist) Western scientific thought. The predominant tendency within science today can be characterized as a generalized skepticism with respect to the possibility of finding out why things happen, a disengagement from social issues, and an overriding concern with technical questions. The emphasis on the accumulation of 'facts' and postulation of theories to be verified and granted the status of 'laws' has created an intellectual atmosphere in which it is very easy for the scientist (both natural and social) to forget the larger social/ideological picture. Scientific inquiry has become increasingly specialized and the focus of work made smaller and smaller, all in the search for ever more detailed descriptions of ever more disconnected phenomena.[26]

The development of linguistics is a case in point. From the broad philological beginnings of the discipline in which language was seen as part of an overall social drama and unfolding of human potential, we have now reached the point where many linguists explicitly or implicitly view language as separate from society, connected through certain correlations it is true, but constituting a game all in itself.

Yet this is not the only way to view science nor the world. There does exist an alternative, one that is a particularly good candidate for a social theory of language variation because of its focus upon social process and change.

7.1.2 Dialectical and historical materialism

Dialectical materialism was created by Marx and Engels in the late 19th century and further developed in the beginning of this century by Lenin and other Marxists. It is concerned with the general laws of evolution of nature, society, and thought. It approaches phenomena dialectically, i.e., in terms of their relation (or opposition) to other phenomena within a constant process of development and change. It is materialist in that it sees matter as primary and thought as secondary.

Dialectical materialism maintains that nothing is unknowable; it is merely not known to us at this time.

Unlike positivist/empiricist thinking, it sees the scientific method as a way of learning about the nature of things and achieving greater mastery over the world. Dialectical materialism is empirical yet not mechanical. It recognizes the relationship between our reason and the material world and considers sense experience, inference, and judgment as inseparable from concrete reality, productive processes, and social life.

Historical materialism is the application of dialectical materialism to society. This approach sees production as the material foundation of human life and the social relations of production as the base on which rests the ideological superstructure (the customs, politics, religion, ethics, philosophy, esthetics, etc.). As Marx said, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness" (Critique of political economy, 1904:11). Thus ideas have their roots in material conditions and are significant to the extent that they react upon these conditions and change them.

Dialectical and historical materialism are not just concerned with how things are but how they are produced, superseded, and further developed by humans. In other words, they are more concerned with understanding and facilitating change than with merely interpreting it. More specifically, they are concerned with kinds of understanding that help the development of political strategies, and for this reason are of particular interest to us in our policy work.

If we take a dialectical materialist approach to language, we see that linguistic variation is a manifestation of the contradictions experienced by humans in their daily lives. The material circumstances or interests of individuals lead to differences in language patterns and these linguistic differences are then utilized to perpetuate social differences in a circular, mutually supportive chain. Any variation or change in language (no matter how system-internal it appears) therefore stems ultimately from changes in the social activities and relations of people (of which language is a part) and in turn affects the nature of future activities and relations.

What needs to be investigated then is the nature of this circular process and the role of human agency in it. Why do individuals' experience of the real world and their expression of that world through language vary in specific ways? Can this be altered in any way? More specifically if social differences cease to be operative, will language variation disappear as well? We do not have the answers to these questions nor (to our knowledge) have they been adequately accounted for by Marxist linguists at this time. Yet the dialectical materialist approach appears to offer more than the positivist/empiricist approach in terms of possible solutions.

7.1.3. Summary

As we have seen in this section, the scientific paradigm crucially alters the kinds of questions one asks and the kinds of evidence that are brought to bear upon them. Beyond the selection of a particular paradigm for research, the importance of this lies in the demonstration that science is not impervious to social reality and changes in thinking despite the common misperception that science represents ultimate truth.

7.2 The social creation and function of categories

Human communication or social interaction would be impossible without the utilization of categories. Categories allow us to speak of things and their properties, of processes, structures, and elements, qualitative states and quantitative relations, number and measure, and individual and collective entities. They are generalizations out of concrete experience and afford us a way of handling that experience.

Categories serve as a means of registering the commonalities and unity perceived among phenomena for given purposes and provide a kind of shorthand or lingua franca for discussing and acting upon issues about which there are certain agreed-upon assumptions and understandings. This is particularly true when it comes to technical or theoretical terms; however, the manipulation of categories is not confined to philosophical or learned discourse.

Categories present an interesting philosophical problem which can be seen in everyday interactional settings--that of their relation to significances or meaning and to ideology. While reflection may bring about an awareness of the arbitrary nature of categories and their function as symbols for a package of significances and distinctions, each appropriate to a given circumstance, daily practice tends toward an unquestioning acceptance of categories as having some precise, universal, a-historical meanings, a fallacy which leads to numerous practical and theoretical problems. Along with this unquestioning attitude comes a denial of the ideological nature of categories, especially when scientific terminology is involved. This brings us back to the issues discussed in the last section.

In dealing with linguistic and cultural variation, one is obliged to confront at some level the nature of categories because it is via these categories that variation is identified as such. Unless there has been some social agreement on norms, there can be no assessment of phenomena as varying from these norms. And therein lies the crux of the matter. How are these norms established and by whom and for what purposes?

Positivistic thinking assumes that the object of study consists of positively-given facts (observable, empirical data), with analysis being the isolation and bringing out of specific characteristics via controlled observation and measurement. However, these 'positively-given' facts do not actually come to us directly--rather, they are mediated through fixed, unanalyzed categories which structure our experience, often without us knowing it. These categories are produced by humans just like the societal relations which they express, and they are just as subject to change and historical conditions. They must be analyzed in terms of their historical roots, their relation to present material conditions, their change, and the effect of developments in our thinking on their change.

The positivist/empiricists utilize categories primarily to institute classifications or taxonomies, which are derived from certain correlations found to obtain among phenomena. However, this approach is based upon atomistic and static views of reality and requires that the categories be seen as wholly abstract, relatively decontextualized, and independent in order to establish extrinsic relations of inter-correlations among disparate phenomena.

Categories are vital to the organization of social life. As Sapir (1921) and Vygotsky (1934) pointed out, communication requires the generalization of individual consciousness in units agreed upon by society. Phenomena occur locally and transiently, and we understand their significance only when we view them in the context of other phenomena which we determine socially to be similar or distinct from the first. In order to work with the phenomena (and talk and think about them), we collectively disregard certain differences which we agree are not important to our goals of the moment and create the illusion by the use of a category that the phenomena possess an essential character or common quality which we will utilize as representative of all the concrete occurrences.

Therefore categories are social artifices, heuristics that we construct to help us carry out our social life and relations and our science. They do not correspond directly to reality precisely because reality is so variable and diverse that it would be intellectually and socially uneconomical to process each and every occurrence as unrelated to any others. In other words, we create categories in order to deal productively with the teeming variety of life.

However, categories are more than just the pigeon-holes for data that a positivist/empiricist viewpoint would have us believe.

> Like the abstractions on which they are based, categories are products of society; they both express social conditions and through their influence on thought and action help to reproduce them. (Ollman 1979:109)

The categories we create and the way we manipulate them are a manifestation of our interests and concerns, our social position, our purposes in a given interaction, etc. They also tend to express the dominant ideology of the society.

One of the biggest problems with categories is that they become reified and treated as if they were the reality they represent. They take on a life of their own as their symbolic nature and social creation is forgotten. One result of this within science is that category generation becomes confused with knowledge and taxonomies become replacements for theory building. Another result is that the categories become so fixed that they limit the way we see the world and cause us to ignore crucial relations, distinctions, and changes.[27]

This is clearly a problem within the natural sciences. To paraphrase Engels in Anti-Dühring, there are no irreconcilable contradictions and no forcibly fixed boundary lines and distinctions in nature. If we seem to run up against them, it's because we have introduced their rigidity and absoluteness. Sometimes increased information about the world allows us to see our rigidity and adjust it. For example, light and electricity were categorized as separate phenomena until their relation as manifestations of the same movement of charged particles was clarified. The natural sciences have responded differently at different times in history to efforts to alter categories (witness the struggles around geo- vs. helio-centric astronomy, theories of evolution and origin of species; Newtonian vs. relativistic physics, etc.). Generally it is felt that such changes in categories (and world views) are the result of empirical data which falsifies preceding theories and necessitates theoretical restructuring. This, of course, neglects the social milieu in which science is practiced and the effect which dominant social ideologies have upon what is acceptable within science.

Within the social sciences, the issue of categories is even more critical, for unlike the natural sciences, the social sciences deal with pre-interpreted categories already formed by and in meaningful conduct of human subjects (Habermas 1971). For example, anthropologists discuss 'family,' 'kinship,' and 'economy,' categories which they rarely analyze in terms of their relation to general use within the society or to that of other societies. The anthropologists are caught up in their fixed categories to such an extent that they end up assuming a homogeneity which does not really exist. As Barnett and Silverman (1979) comment, there are many structural and functional differences among the referents in our own society for the above categories, and meaningful comparison with other cultures is extremely difficult. What actually happens in many cases is that alternate approaches to culture or theories of anthropology are compared rather than the people or cultures themselves.

The ideological nature of categories in the social sciences can most clearly be seen in the development of stereotypes. Stereotypes are particularly rigid categories which are used to maintain social distinctions and limit people's capacities to see their points of common struggle. Stereotypes deny the variable nature of social reality. Even more insidious is their grip on people's attitudes--while stereotypes can be scientifically disproved through quantitative analysis, they are not easily shaken from people's consciousness and belief systems.

Linguistic phenomena are often utilized in the production of class, ethnic, or racial stereotypes. We tend to over-generalize and perceive the occurrence or non-occurrence of particular features or processes in categorical ways--e.g. they _constantly_ code-switch, or _never_ use the subjunctive, or chop off _all_ their words, etc. Clearly the linguistic phenomena are not what is under contention, but rather the peoplehood, or rights, of the group in question. In a class society, it is particularly useful to keep people divided at as many points as possible, and language, being so intimately tied up with thought and identity, is an especially effective tool in convincing people that their differences are more salient than their similarities. The constant arguing over the supposed superiority or inferiority of regional and class dialects and varieties, as well as the debates concerning the dangers and deficits of multilingualism are testimony to this.

The important thing in such a situation is to analyze critically the rationales behind the linguistic stereotypes and whose purposes they are serving. Along with this must come a realistic assessment of what those in power in our society have determined as permissable ways to succeed in this society, i.e. what linguistic varieties are granted legitimacy by the social gate-keepers and power-brokers. Only with this information can a response be crafted, whether it is to strive for increased understanding so that language variation is not generated and manipulated in this way, or to change the power base of the society so that no one will be in the position to divide the masses of people through language, or to equip the people with the necessary tools for playing the power game while preparing to undermine it.

7.2.1 Summary

This section has attempted to illustrate the importance of examining the social creation of categories and their relation to language variation. We have shown how language as a social process requires the utilization of categories and also how the use of these categories is subject to certain pitfalls, including the reification of the categories and the subsequent ignoring of their social constitution and ideological base. In closing, we would like to emphasize that the predominant trend has been to talk about categories as if they only needed to be described, when the real issue is to discover how they are made and for what purposes.

7.3 Language variability and social significance

Given that variability is the norm for human culture and language, it is necessary to consider what of all the variation available for study is most significant. Clearly, in order to advance science, some variation has to be put aside or we would become bogged down in the infinite gradations of differences with no generalizable statements at all, i.e. no science at all. The natural sciences routinely exclude certain variations and account for this by expressing the outcomes of experiments, measurements, and observations in terms of the particular conditions under which action was carried out, along with a statistical assessment of the range of possible error or variability. Variability is only significant if it affects the overall measurements beyond the level considered tolerable.

When attempting to develop a theory that will deal with language variability as a social phenomenon, we are less interested in significance as a statistical notion. Our concern is rather with the people who live the variation and the larger social milieu in which they (as well as the researchers) are situated. We want to know what makes a social difference, what affects the way in which humans constitute themselves and the opportunities for living their lives fully, and what is recognizable, important, and salient.

It is a difficult task to determine social significance, as this is dependent on the nature and needs of the group(s) concerned, and these may vary considerable over time, especially as their material world changes. We must remember that just as humans create the variability in the language, so too they create the significance which this variability manifests. Therefore there can never be a final statement that: "variability X = significance Y".

It is not clear how social significance is granted to particular variants or why certain variants are utilized to communicate significance and others are not. In Labov's work (1966, 1972 a + b) there is a suggestion that it is the individual who is responsible for the selection of variants. Labov depicts speakers alternately as romantic figures bucking social systems or change, or ruthless climbers exploiting linguistic variance for social benefit. Similarly, Goffman (1967) views personal motives and needs of individuals involved in the presentation of self as determining the choices among variants. In neither of these two lines of study is there any real analysis of the social forces which constitute the individuals; rather individuals are idealized and isolated from society.

A dialectical materialist approach would have to view the individual as a socially constituted, active agent living out social contradictions and shaping and being shaped by the world. Individuals have particular life histories which distinguish them; however, they are members of social groups and act within the boundaries for behavior established by those groups. This behavior (and the groups themselves) change constantly as do their needs to register certain things as important or meaningful in their relations.

This calls for an assessment of the social needs and goals of the group and the means at their disposal for fulfulling these. Such an assessment is rarely, if ever, made in traditional linguistic studies (linguists usually feel that this falls within the purview of political economy or sociology); however, the payoff would appear to be great. For example, if we knew something about the group's priorities for cultural and economic survival, we would gain some insight into what is important and meaningful to its people and what sorts of categories will be significant to them.[28] We would be able to understand better what is valued and what counts. Knowing that language variation is often utilized as demarcator of categories of concern, we could then focus upon how it bears the weight of symbolically transmitting the preoccupations and distinctions of the group. Knowing, too, that linguistic demarcators serve to reinforce distinctions important to the culture as a whole, we can direct our attention to the mechanisms by which ideological distinctions penetrate all aspects of social life. The danger to avoid would be any simplistic or deterministic explanation of significance as solely rooted in economic conditions.

In attempting to deal with the significance of the variation or the significance communicated by it, we would have to keep in mind that the social meaning precedes the linguistic forms--the forms are merely an arbitrary, though effective, way of carrying the meaning. To put it more concretely, if there are, let us say, sexual or gender distinctions in speech (e.g. pronouns of address, code selection, lexical choice, etc.), it is because those distinctions are important to the social agenda of the group, perhaps to its maintenance, and the language variation has been utilized to further emphasize this. In other words, the language forms can tell us a great deal about what is significant to a people, but that significance is derived from broader cultural concerns.[29]

Studies of narration (cf. Rosaldo 1982) have demonstrated that what people choose to tell stories about reveals a lot about what is important to them. In addition, how those stories are told, what is foregrounded, backgrounded, omitted, referred to obliquely, assumed, etc. can also point to critical features of the culture. In order to interpret these narratives, we need to have a sense of the cultural norms, expectations, and values of the narrators, and in turn the narratives teach us more about the nature of the culture. (This is taken up at greater length in the work on narratives presented elsewhere in this report.)

7.3.1 Summary

In sum, we have tried to indicate the necessity of sorting out what language variation is meaningful in order to avoid being dragged down by the multiplicity of forms and diversity of patterns. This is only possible with a careful assessment of the economic and ideological bases of the speakers and of the mechanisms by which meaningful distinctions are borne by the linguistic forms.

8.0 Conclusion

This paper has sought to demonstrate that a social theory of language variation is necessary and that the approaches now existing are not social nor are they adequate to understand the phenomenon. We have done this by reviewing critically the current treatment of language variability within language-related disciplines and then focusing on several themes which have not been adequately considered but which we feel are vital to the creation of a social theory of language variability--namely the effect of the scientific paradigm or ideology selected upon the way variability is treated, the social creation and manipulation of the categories which allow us to even speak of 'variation,' and the manifestation of social significance or meaning through variable linguistic forms.

In examining variation in language, we were motivated by more than intellectual curiosity. Our conviction is that we need to do more than describe or even explain variation just because it is there. Rather we contend that such knowledge is useful for improving the lives of people, for changing social conditions so that people can live out their full potentials.

While we cannot spell out an exact agenda for this social theory of variation, we have concluded that:

1. the dualism of language and society is non-productive and invalid and has halted the theoretical development of language study;
2. a dialectical and historical materialist approach avoids and in fact explicitly rejects this dualism, and has a great deal to offer the study of language variability as a social phenomenon; and
3. the study of language variability as a social phenomenon must necessarily include the study of human agents who create the variability, give it

social meaning, and use it for social purposes. Among these human agents to be examined are also the researchers.

NOTES

[1] We should note in passing that variability plays an important role in the so-called 'hard' sciences as well, particularly biology. See Osborne (1959) and Claridge (1973) on genetic bases for biological variations.

[2] These areas were selected because they are relevant to the formulation of language policy and because they have figured prominently in our training and our work, thus permitting a relatively informed commentary.

[3] More specifically, if phonetically similar variants can be shown to be in complementary distribution (i.e. found in mutually exclusive environments) and linked in the native speaker's perception to some underlying form, then they are regarded as allophones of a particular phoneme (e.g. syllable final [p'] and syllable initial [p^h] with relation to phoneme /p/ . If, on the other hand, those variants distinguish words of different meanings (as do [p] and [b] , they are considered distinctive or separate phonemes.

[4] Bell (1976:36) defends inherent variability as necessary: "Inherent variability has too a crucial role in linguistic change, since without it individual freedom of choice would be lacking; each form irrevocably tied to some internal or external conditioning factor, making change impossible."

[5] B. Bailey (1966) developed a polylectal grammar within the TG framework. The grammar was based on the assumption that all varieties of Creole were describable via the same phrase structure and transformational rules, with variation occurring in morphophonemic structure by means of readjustment rules. While this morpheme variants model did not become part of established theory, it did give impetus to the investigations of variation within a TG paradigm.

[6] According to Hymes (1980), one other issue must be addressed, and that is a social one--how salient is the variable? Do speakers share an awareness of the stigma or prestige which marks the variable? This brings up the question long argued within linguistic theory of whether rules should be psychologically real to speakers in order to be valid. This is seldom if ever discussed in variable rule studies.

[7] Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence contrasts severely with Hymes' concept of communicative competence which involves the ability to use the sentences produced appropriately in the correct social situation. Such competence by necessity varies from person to person. This does not mean, however, that any attempts at generalizations must be abandoned, since individuals are socialized within social structures. Thus, there is a unity of individual differences which allows us to speak about the communicative repertoire of an entire group.

[8] We should note here that idealization of some kind is unavoidable, even in sociolinguistic research which claims to stay close to the 'raw' data. In reality, it is impossible to gather truly 'raw' data, as data comes to the observer filtered through his senses and cognitive processes which segment reality in certain ways (Schane 1973).

The collection process is a further idealization of initial facts and thus a partial analysis. This idealization is an inherent reality for any science which attempts to describe non-discrete entities in terms of discrete units of analysis. The problem is not how to rid ourselves of such idealization, but rather to determine how much is necessary for an adequate explanation of the phenomena. Traditional and generative linguistics have called for high levels of idealization, while sociolinguistics has required far less.

[9] The universalist would claim that the common thread running through this variability is the adult language which is known to all acquirers. Yet recent experimental studies of adult language belie the notion that adult knowledge of grammar is homogeneous (Gleitman and Gleitman 1970).

[10] The extent to which 'normally developing' children may use apparently 'unproductive' or regressive forms across the course of development has not been fully explored. However, Smith (1973) documents recidivism in phonology, in which less mature surface forms are produced. It seems quite likely that similar phenomena would occur in other aspects of language.

[11] At least in traditional ethnography. This would not hold for interpretive models.

[12] The historical particularist approach was characterized by detailed, ethnographically-based documentation of cultural developments for a particular culture within a given historical period. The particularists tended to avoid theoretical synthesis or generalization, feeling that only with the accumulation of masses of historical data could any theoretical statements be made. They saw their work as complementary to the historical comparative approach common in linguistics during the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

[13] The configurationalist approach described groups in terms of configurations of major psychological traits. The emphasis was on cultural consistency. Ruth Benedict's Pattern of Culture (1934) concluded that each culture selects from an infinite variety of possible behaviors, and the resulting patterns sometimes conform to particular configurations. Margaret Mead was greatly interested in individuals within a group as illustrative of national character. She took her theoretical support from the linguistic model which utilized single informants to produce entire grammars, unfortunately failing to recognize (as did the structural linguists) the variability provided by those individuals even in relatively small populations (cf. Harris 1968).

[14] Kroeber's approach was to develop lists of trait element or basic regional categories of modes of subsistence as related to ecological factors. His painstaking ethnographic surveys led him to conclude like Boas that generalizations were unprofitable as the interactions of culture and environment were too complex and too group-specific (Kroeber 1939:205).

[15] The British school of social anthropology emphasized intensive fieldwork and analysis of synchronic functional relations. The functionalist approach is characterized by by search for significant social laws and a stress upon social structures as primary in determining cultural behavior. The functionalist laws, however, were based on synchronic data and neglected change and evolution. Firth (1961) turned to the study of variations in social structure in order to understand social change because as he said: "Structural analysis alone cannot interpret social change" (35). Malinowski, perhaps the best known of British social anthropoligists, emphasized biophysical needs as the driving force behind sex roles and family structure. He, like many other anthropologists during the decline of British colonialism, stressed cohesion and continuity of the cultures found within the empire and avoided questions of variation, conflict, struggle, and change.

[16] The French structuralists took their theoretical lead from the Prague linguists (e.g. Trubetzkoy, Jakobson) who had developed an analysis of speech sounds which categorized the infinite phones in terms of binary oppositions of distinctive features. This approach allowed the operationalization of deeper structures, and moved Lévi-Strauss to the study of underlying forms and relations of items, as well as the nature of general and invariant relationships, in his work on kinship terms. Lévi-Strauss constructed a formal taxonomy of kinship types which allowed him to identify new patterns and compare

them to others. Unfortunately, he never analyzed the articulation between the types and other social structures, nor did he account for internal variation. Even more critical was his failure to see that this structure does not have a life of its own except as human agents act out their lives and create that structure.

[17] Harris (1968) retorts this is just the old ethnography with a more operationalized and mentalistic bent.

[18] The speech event list of components says nothing about human agents producing their relations through struggle, conflict, cooperation, or any other means. The ethnography of speaking presumes a normative social model, tends toward determinism, and is a-historical in perspective.

[19] Clearly this is not the case for all. Social scientists like Searle, Geertz, Ricoeur, and Kuhn would not subscribe to this view of scientific practice, nor would a socially aware natural scientist like Gould.

[20] The terms 'idealist' and 'materialist' are used here in their philosophical senses, not the commonly understood notions of being guided by ideals, on the one hand, and material gain, on the other. Idealist philosophy sees the mind, ideas, spirit as primary, whether that be in that case of subjective idealism, the sensations or consciousness of the individual mind, or in the case of objective idealism, a super-human mind or will independent of man. This kind of thinking characterizes theology and was especially predominant during feudalism. Materialist philosophy views matter as primary and thought as secondary. While materialist views have existed since ancient times, they came to prominence with the development of capitalism and the concomitant development of industry and natural science. Most scientists today spontaneously adopt a materialist stance in their practice, though they may consciously deny it as such and are inconsistent in so doing. A popular philosophical theme today (cf. Bertrand Russell) is that idealism and materialism are both wrong, and that a middle ground is necessary. However, it is difficult to see how there could be a middle ground since the two approaches are mutually exclusive. Clearly, this brief explanation does not do the terms justice and does not even begin to deal with the many variants, especially the crucial differences among mechanistic, metaphysical, dialectical, and historical materialism. For more elucidation of these terms, see Selsam (1949), Politzer (1976).

[21] Comte also utilized these presumed stages as an illustration of the slow, inevitable, evolutionary nature of social process, and to reject the notion of revolution or abrupt change.

Habermas (1971) points out that Comte's stages were really a way of justifying science's belief in itself by construing the history of the species as a history of the realization of the positive spirit.

[22] This belief comes more from social scientists (particularly phenomenalists) than from natural scientists. There has been an implicit assumption among intellectuals and lay people alike that the so-called 'hard' sciences are more 'scientific' because they count, catalogue, and accumulate facts under supposedly controlled conditions. This has had serious implications for the development of the social sciences, and the history of these disciplines has been characterized by a quest for ways of making ideas, attitudes, mental states, and other 'fuzzy' phenomena attain empirical status and thus convey upon social science the legitimacy of 'real' science. A case in point is psychology, which has had great difficulties in establishing itself as a science given the problems inherent in objectively or quantitatively probing the mind. For that reason, behaviorist psychology was so popular--all human behavior could be accounted for by simple stimulus-response mechani[illegible]

[23] Despite their apparent opposition, both rationalism and empiricism fail to see knowledge as a social construct. They are egocentric in that they situate knowledge within the individual rather than as the result of social interaction.

[24] Peirce described pragmatism as "the principle that every theoretical judgement expressible in a sentence in the indicative mood is a confused form of thought whose only meaning, if it has any, lies, in its tendency to enforce a corresponding practical maxim expressed as a conditional sentence having its apodosis in the imperative mood" (Lectures on Pragmatism V, 18).

[25] This is particularly useful as a philosophical justification for capitalism and imperialism.

[26] Along with this comes a failure to recognize that the scientist is part and parcel of the social reality and of the science being created. Scientists play an important role in the advancement of the class interests of those in power and in the maintenance of certain class relations. Every aspect of their work, from the way they are trained, the funding of research, the selection of research questions, to the publication and dissemination of any research findings, is governed by larger social processes and, in turn, has its effect on social relations. Yet when conditions are right, scientists can assist in changing social reality with the knowledge they create.

[27] Wolf (1982:6-7) shows how this is very much the case in historical analysis. "By endowing nations, societies, or cultures with the qualities of internally homogeneous and externally distinctive and bounded objects, we create a model of the world as a global pool hall in which entities spin off each other like so many hard and round billiard balls.....The habit of treating named entities such as Iroquois, Greece, Persia, or the United States as fixed entities opposed to one another by stable internal architecture and external boundaries interferes with our ability to understand their mutual encounter and confrontation." Bonilla (1983) illustrates how this has been done with the category 'Hispanic.'

[28] Of course, there is the as yet unresolved problem of how to ascertain a group's priorities which it may not be able to articulate itself.

[29] In this regard, we also need to examine cases in which there have been changes in the ideological system (due to revolutions or other social upheavals), where distinctions that once were critical are no longer so, or the more usual case where there is competition between new and old beliefs and, as a result, variation among the new and old linguistic forms that mark the beliefs. Cases of particular concern to us in the study of language minorities in the U.S. would be colonial and neo-colonial situations and mass migrations.

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III. Defining Puerto Rican language varieties

At the outset of this project, we were still working through many of the issues presented in the preceding chapter. We continued to view the structural depiction of the language repertoire of the Puerto Rican speech community as a major priority in the resolution (or at least clarification) of its educational problems. As a result, we launched two pilot investigations aimed at providing us with preliminary information about the vowel system and prosodic system of a variety we had not yet examined - Puerto Rican English.

We were primarily interested in ascertaining whether the English spoken by Puerto Ricans in the U.S. could be defined solely in terms of features of the local vernaculars with which it comes in contact, or whether there is a specific configuration of features (historically derived from Black English, standard English, local vernacular, and perhaps Puerto Rican Spanish) which both uniquely defines Puerto Rican English and distinguishes it from these other varieties.

The two papers which resulted fall within the quantitative sociolinguistic paradigm which characterized our earlier work and which we have so soundly critiqued in the last chapter. The reader should bear in mind that they represent a specific point in the development of our thinking. They are included here to complete the record and provide an instructive contrast to the rest of the report.

Their major limitation lies in assuming that linguistic elements can or should be analyzed apart from one another and the discourse context. If Puerto Rican English exists as a distinct variety, it can only be adequately characterized by an approach which looks at the overlaying of many features simultaneously and sees the variety as the social product of its speakers as people.

THE ENGLISH VOWEL SYSTEM OF PUERTO RICAN NEW YORKERS

William Labov, John Myhill, and Alicia Pousada

1.0 Introduction

New York City has historically served as point of entry for many immigrant groups, as well as mecca for U.S. citizens of all regions. Each arriving group exerted its particular influence upon the metropolitan economy and culture, resulting in a great diversity of social and linguistic behavior.

Within this multi-ethnic and multilingual setting, a variety of English developed which linguists refer to as New York City English because it represents the speech of many area residents (regardless of background) and can be distinguished from that heard in other regions by certain features, among them vowel sounds.[1] While there is considerable variation within the N.Y.C. speech community, it is patterned and occurs along definable social and stylistic dimensions. In short, it represents a heterogeneous system. New arrivals to the city have traditionally been absorbed into this system after an initial period of differentiation (see Labov 1966 and 1972b for a discussion of Jewish and Italian patterns).

Blacks represent an exception to this situation. The racial and class barriers in the United States have effectively prevented the Black population from participating in the social and economic mainstream, and the separateness of Black English Vernacular (BEV) illustrates this process (see Labov 1972a). In the large Northern cities, when Blacks move away from BEV, because of the influences of formal education, they move toward the standard represented by the speech of the national broadcast media, and do not tend to acquire the features of the local vernacular.

Puerto Ricans appear to occupy an intermediate position in all of this, oscillating between the influences of the Black vernacular, on the one hand, and the white vernacular, on the other. Because of their working class position, their non-white status, and their geographic proximity to Blacks in urban poor neighborhoods, Puerto Ricans have assimilated many features found in the English of Black speakers. Then again, because of their recourse to another language (Spanish) and another homeland (Puerto Rico), which makes them more like traditional European immigrants, and their mixed racial heritage, which has permitted some degree of identification with white as opposed to Black culture, Puerto Ricans have incorporated certain features associated with the speech of white New Yorkers.

Puerto Rican English has been investigated only sporadically and incompletely. During the 60's, when linguists turned their attention to the speech of minority groups, in particular Blacks, Puerto Ricans represented a growing percentage of urban populations. Their interaction with Blacks brought them some share of the linguistic spotlight, but there was little concerted effort to describe the variety spoken by Puerto Ricans except as it reflected the influence of Black English.

Labov (1966) is a description of the speech of New York City based upon a sample drawn from working and middle class residents in the Lower East Side. A good portion of the sample resulted from informants identified by the Mobilization for Youth Project which cooperated with Labov's team. About a third of these informants were Puerto Rican. Labov recognized the importance of this group for the social study of the area; however, as very few had grown up in this country with English as their native language, they were not included in the sample.

In Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis (1968), Puerto Rican youths were included in the examination of non-standard English because they were members of the same gangs as the Black youths who were the focus of the study. However, their speech was not given any special attention.

Labov and Pedraza (1971) was intended as a remedy to this situation. The one year study of the Puerto

Rican youths and adults involved with the Neighborhood Youth Corps in the South Bronx attempted to get at the nature of the English and the Spanish of the community. In addition to the New York City material, data was also gathered in both languages from a stratified sample of residents of Las Piedras, Puerto Rico. Unfortunately, despite the wealth of tapes and ethnographic information obtained, the team did not have the resources to accomplish more than a preliminary description of language usage in this Puerto Rican community.

Wolfram (1973) dealt directly with the English of a group of Puerto Rican youths from East Harlem and the Bronx. Like the Labov projects, this investigation located its informants through the cooperation of a community youth group (Youth Development Incorporated) which sponsored a camp in up-state New York where the data was recorded. Only the speech of young males was examined, with the major emphasis being the effect of peer interactions with Blacks on the English spoken by these youths. Several phonological, as well as morphological, syntactic, and lexical, features were analyzed via Labovian variable rule techniques (e.g. th, syllable final alveolar stops, negation). Anisman (1975) utilized the same data corpus to look at several phonological features and the correlation of syllable length with stress and vowel quality. The two studies concluded that those Puerto Rican youths with strong peer connections to Blacks utilized more Black variants while those who were less involved in street socializing and had fewer Black friends tended more toward the white vernacular.

One of Labov's students came to similar conclusions after examining the speech of Puerto Rican elementary school students in Philadelphia. Poplack (1978a) analyzed a number of phonological features and found that there was not only a difference in terms of peer interaction patterns but also in terms of gender. Puerto Rican boys tended to favor more BEV variants than did girls.

The work of the Language Policy Task Force of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños represents the continuation and fulfillment of the projections made by Labov and Pedraza in 1971. In 1978, the task force produced an article concerning language policy and the Puerto Rican community which laid out a research agenda. In the years since, the task force has generated a number of reports on various facets of language use among Puerto Ricans in East Harlem.[2] The major emphasis has been on Spanish or interaction of Spanish and English.

In this report, we now turn to the English of the community we have been examining for so long. We will look at the vowel systems of a small sample of Puerto Rican residents of East Harlem to see what have been the respective contributions of the white vernacular, the Black vernacular, and Spanish to their English. This investigation is intended as a kind of pilot to attempt to see whether there are particular vowel patterns which are distinctive to Puerto Ricans and would further support the notion of Puerto Rican English as a distinct dialect.

In order to do this, we will first consider in more detail the nature of the New York City English vowel system as realized by white and Black speakers. Then we will examine how the vowels produced by our pilot sample compare with those documented for the other two groups.

2.0 New York City English vowels

New York City English has been greatly stereotyped and stigmatized, and New Yorkers often comment that they are readily identified as coming from New York whenever they travel. However, it has long been noted that the city is a very complex sociolinguistic setting with considerable social and stylistic variation (cf. Babbitt 1896, Kurath 1939, Frank 1948, Hubbell 1950, Bronstein 1962, Labov 1966).

In order to describe the variety accurately, it is necessary to examine certain linguistic features which act as variables.[3] Speakers utilize different variants according to their social background and their perception of the social interaction.

From the various elements of the vowel system, we have selected ten variables which reflect the various social influences and define the dialect. They are:

(æ/æh) The division of "short a" [æ] words into two phonemes, lax /æ/ and tense /æh/ in a fine-grained phonetic and lexical pattern. For example:

/æ/: bat, pack, bang, razz, pal, and...

/æh/: bad, cab, bag, man, ham, pass, past, laugh...

(æh) The raising of tense /æh/ (see above) to high front position in the white vernacular, and to less fronted positions for Blacks, leading to realizations such as [æ˔ː], [ɛ˔ːᵊ], [e˔ːᵊ], or even [ɪ˔ːᵊ].

(en) The distinction between /i/ and /e/ (e.g. pin/pen) nasals: different for whites, merged for Blacks.

(ang) The lowering of /i/ before velar nasals (e.g. thing ~ thang) characteristic of some Southern dialects, and frequently heard among Northern Blacks.

(ay) The realization of /ay/ in FIND, MY, etc., with a back nucleus and a strong glide among whites, [ay], and a variable fronted monophthong [ɑ] or [ɑː] among Blacks.

(o) The position of "short o" in words like GOT, NOT, LOCK, etc. which is variably central and back among whites in New York City. In the speech of whites in the Northern Cities of Chicago, Detroit, etc., this has moved to the front, but such fronting has not been reported for New York City.

(u) The realization of "wedge", the unrounded back vowel of CUT, BUD, MOTHER, which is [ʌ] for both whites and Blacks.

(ow) The realization of /ow/ in GO, BOAT, etc. This begins with a back unrounded vowel for whites, and glides upward [ɔw] ; it is not much different for Blacks.

(ey) The parallel variable in the front system: the vowel of SAY, MADE, etc. [ey] .

(father) The realization of "long a" words, which are lower back in New York City vernacular. FATHER is the main representative here.

For a closer look at the precise phonological structure and social distribution of these variables in New York City English, see Labov (1966 and 1972b) and Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972).

Now that we have a better idea of the features of the local vernacular, let us turn to our sample of Puerto Rican New Yorkers.

3.0 The sample

In this report, we will be considering the English vowel systems of six Puerto Rican New Yorkers. These six were selected from a tape recorded corpus of the speech of 91 residents of the same residential block in East Harlem because they provided enough English in their tapes to be studied conveniently and because they were fairly representative of the other English speakers in the corpus in terms of age and migration experience.[4] Another deciding criterion was voice quality, as only those speakers whose voice patterns were suitable for spectrographic analysis could be included.[5]

All six speakers are Puerto Rican by descent, were raised in the U.S., and carry out their social activities on the block under investigation. All have visited or lived in Puerto Rico at some time, and most have family members who travel back and forth. They range in age from 24 to 40 years and in educational level from 8th grade to high school graduate. The two women in the sample work as housewives. Two of the four men are employed in service jobs; the other two are also involved in serving the public though at a more skilled level (i.e., insurance salesman and hospital technician).

All of the group have positive attitudes toward being Puerto Rican and toward being bilingual. All can be considered bilingual in that Spanish was the first language in each case and all have abilities in Spanish. However, the sample can be divided into two-subgroups--those who have a clear preference for or greater ability in English, and those who are more or less equally proficient and comfortable in both languages. This division can be seen in Table 1 below:

speaker	age	birthplace	age of arrival	language dominance
Junior	24	NYC	birth	English
Juana	27	NYC	birth	English
Berto	38	PR	8	English
Reina	26	PR	8	Bilingual
Nelo	34	PR	4	Bilingual
Dominó	40	PR	8	Bilingual

Table 1: Demographic and language characteristics of sample

To appreciate more fully the analysis which will be presented here, it is necessary to situate the individual speakers in terms of their life experiences and language patterns. We will describe first the English-dominant group and then the bilingual.

3.1 English-dominants

Junior is a young man in his mid-twenties who was born and raised in New York City. He has spent most of his life in the Barrio with the exception of a term in the military. He is a high school graduate and works at present as an insurance salesman in downtown Manhattan. While he learned Spanish from his parents as a child and can communicate in both oral and written forms, he favors

English and utilizes that language or code-switching for the majority of his interactions. He is an avid reader, again primarily in English, but enjoys listening to the radio in both languages. Most of his friends are Puerto Rican or Anglo, though he does report knowing some Blacks and other Hispanics as well.

Juana was born and raised in East Harlem, although she has spent a couple of her 27 years living in Puerto Rico. She claims to have learned both English and Spanish at the same time, Spanish from her parents and English from her older siblings. She prefers English and uses it the most for daily interactions, for T.V. and radio entertainment, and for reading. She was married to a Black man and has obvious Black influence in her vocabulary, pronunciation, and phrasing in English, something which she herself points to. Her friends are Puerto Rican and Black, and according to her the Puerto Ricans also have Black English influence in their speech. Juana has taught her children both languages, but uses mostly English or code-switching with them. She was able to complete the 11th grade and works as a housewife.

Berto was both in Puerto Rico and came to live in the Barrio 30 years ago at the age of 8. He finished the 10th grade and works as a custodian. He prefers English which he learned in New York City from his friends and in school, and favors English T.V., radio, newspapers, and books. He neither reads nor writes Spanish but uses it with older family members and when engaged in table games with Spanish-speaking males on the block. Aside from this, his Spanish appears in code-switching from an English base. He does claim to be using more Spanish now ever since he married a Spanish-speaking wife and began raising children.

3.2 Bilinguals

Reina is a young woman in her mid-twenties. She has lived in the Barrio ever since her parents migrated from Puerto Rico when she was about eight. She describes herself as bilingual and is one of the most proficient code-switchers on the block. She is able to use Spanish (her first language) effectively in all domains except writing, this last due to the short time in which she received formal schooling in Spanish in Puerto Rico. She uses her Spanish with her parents, her children, and other family members, as well as in church. English is used in conversations with her siblings, who like her were raised in the U.S., and with teenagers on the block. Practically-speaking, Reina mixes the two languages whenever she interacts with fellow bilinguals. She received an eighth grade education and spends her time caring for her four children. She is a fan of Spanish novelas on T.V. but otherwise prefers the English language media, both print and broadcast. Her contacts are almost exclusively with other Puerto Ricans and some Blacks.

Nelo is in his mid-thirties and has lived in the Barrio since his arrival from Puerto Rico at the age of four, with the exception of a short stint working in Alaska. He learned Spanish as his first language from his parents and family in Puerto Rico and picked up English later on in New York City among his friends and siblings. He regards himself as bilingual and functions comfortably in both languages, using Spanish on the block daily with a variety of people and English with some workers at the hotel where he is employed as cook and with a number of Black or Anglo friends. He is an active code-switcher and reports alternating between English and Spanish in most of his interactions within the community. Nelo prefers the English language newspapers and T.V., as he was schooled solely in that language (he finished the eighth grade), but for relaxation listens primarily to Spanish radio.

Dominó is a 40 year old surgical technician employed at a hospital in Central Harlem. He came from Puerto Rico when he was eight years old. He learned Spanish first, in both oral and written forms, and utilizes it with older adults and monolinguals on the block, with whom he socializes regularly around the domino table; however, he does not enjoy Spanish T.V., radio, or newspapers. His English is put into constant use on a fairly advanced level (including medical jargon) at work, where he interacts with people of many different backgrounds. In the community, he alternates between Spanish and English according to the interlocutors and situations, rather than code-switching profusely within the same interaction, and describes this as his habitual mode of expression.

4.0 Method of analysis[6]

The method used here is the same technique that was used in the study of the vowel system of Philadelphia (Labov 1980). All stressed vowels are analyzed as they are found on the tape, excluding certain environments that lead to ambiguous measurements (words beginning with consonant plus liquid, or with glides /y/ and /w/. A spectral analysis is first performed by the Spectral Dynamics 301 Real Time Analyzer. For men, the range is from 0 to 3300 Hz; for women, from 0 to 3600 Hz. This yields three formants in most cases, along with the fundamental frequency. The speech wave is sampled every 17.5 msec, and data are averaged over three samples. The resulting spectra are shown on the Tektronix 611 oscilloscope, and selected for storage and further analysis.

The actual formant values are calculated by an LPC algorithm which takes as input data the amplitude readings which make up the analyzed spectrum, and calculates the spectral envelope that is the result of the shaping action of the tongue and the lips. These values are then classified by the analyst according to the vowel present, the stress, and the environment. The results are fed into another series of programs that charts the vowel system as a whole: nuclei alone, full trajectories, or sub-parts of the system.

Between 100 and 200 manifestations of vowels were analyzed for each speaker (see Table 2). Because of the random arrangement of vowels in natural speech (as opposed to word lists), some speakers produced many tokens of a particular vowel and none of others. However, for the most part there was at least one (and even as many as 26) for each vowel category which permitted comparison across speakers.

Once the spectral analysis was complete, we focused upon the variables presented in section 2.0 as the most salient, defining features of New York City English, in order to see how the vowel system of these Puerto Rican speakers fit into the larger New York City system.

So as not to overburden the reader with a multitude of figures, we will present only the charts of Juana and Berto to illustrate particular points in our exposition of the results and make reference to the general tendencies of the others.

5.0 Results

The competing influences of Spanish, Black vernacular, and white vernacular emerge rather clearly in the analysis of the speech of this sample. In addition, there are unique features of the dialect being formed in New York

VOWELS ANALYZED

SPEAKERS	ɪ 1.	ɛ 2.	æ 3.	ɑ 5.	ʌ 6.	ʊ 7.	iy 11.	iə 14.	ey 21.	ɛə 24.	æ+ 33.	ay 41.	aw 42.	ä 43.	ɑə 44.	ɔ+ 53.	ɔə 54.	oy 61.	ow 62.	uw 72.	ɚ 94.	N
Berto	21	13	5	4	9	7	4	3	11	2	4	6	2	3	1	1	2	-	5	1	1	105
Domino	14	17	8	8	11	1	8	2	15	1	3	7	15	0	7	0	5	-	6	4	5	137
Junior	7	14	26	14	9	5	8	1	10	2	7	12	5	0	2	3	1	2	15	11	10	164
Juana	11	23	22	2	15	2	8	0	21	4	4	16	4	3	2	4	2	-	11	2	1	157
Reina	9	6	10	8	10	5	2	3	5	4	4	11	7	1	3	3	4	-	17	2	0	114
Nelo	7	13	21	14	12	13	11	2	10	1	13	11	6	0	5	8	6	-	21	11	7	191

Table 2 Number of tokens of each vowel analyzed in the English of the sample of Puerto Rican New Yorkers

Key:

1.	[ɪ]	did, kiss	
2.	[ɛ]	bet, bed	
3.	[æ]	bat, Spanish	
5.	[ɑ]	shot, pop	
6.	[ʌ]	gun, some	
7.	[ʊ]	good, foot	
11.	[iy]	seed, lean	(I)
14.	[iə]	here, beer	(+)
21.	[ey]	game, lake	(E)
24.	[ɛə]	chair, bear	(%)
33.	[æ+]	bank, cab	(@)
41.	[ay]	time, rhyme	(Y)
42.	[aw]	town, now	(w)
43.	[ä]	father, palm	(>)
44.	[ɑə]	alarm, dart	(A)
53.	[ɔ+]	dog, coffee	(#)
54.	[ɔə]	source, torn	(])
61.	[oy]	boy, point	(Q)
62.	[ow]	go, rope,	(O)
72.	[uw]	doom, blew	(u)
94.	[ɚ, əy]	turn, girl	(∠)

City that cannot be immediately traced to any of these sources. We will look first at some general characteristics of the variety and then trace the influences of white vernacular, Black vernacular, and Spanish. Finally, we will consider a new development never before documented in New York City.

5.1 General Characteristics

From the spectral analysis of the vowels of the six speakers, it is evident that the basic phonemic distinctions of long and short vowels are intact. There is no tendency to merge long /iy/ and short /i/, long /u/, etc., so that SEAT and SIT, SHOOED and SHOULD are not confused. Such a merger would have been expected given the lack of such distinctions in the vowel system of Spanish. Therefore in this regard, the speakers' behavior in English is not directly influenced by their knowledge of their first language.

Another general point to be made concerns the (u) vowel, which is uniformly [ʌ] in New York City. Among these young Puerto Ricans, the vowel of CUT, MOTHER, etc. is extremely variable and its phonetic realizations may perhaps be determined by lexical class. For example, HUNDRED, MOTHER, are in high back position, higher than short /u/ in PUT. On the other hand, several examples of MOTHER are in low back position, and further down are tokens of SOME. In a mid-central position, we find

HUSBAND, SOME and SHUT. See Juana in Figure 1 for an illustration of this variability.

5.2 Relation to white New York City vernacular

The basic distinction between /a/ and /ah/ is the same as the white New York City vernacular, even though the phonetics are quite different. Sometimes the phonetic differences are quite small, but they are generally preserved, word for word. This is true of everyone except Nelo, who shows the strongest Spanish influence. He has tense DAMN, CAN'T, HAND, ASK, as in New York, but low and lax ASK and CAN OPENER.

In addition there is no backing of /ay/ or fronting of /aw/, which is characteristic of younger speakers of the white New York City vernacular.

Finally, the r-less pronunciation of the New York City vernacular is generally adapted. This also conforms with the Black pattern. But as with white New Yorkers, the mid-central vowel has consonantal /r/, but also the palatal upglide that has been stigmatized strongly as a feature of the New York City vernacular, (e.g. [bɚid] bird).

5.3 Black English vernacular influence

The influence of Blacks is clear in (en), merging PIN and PEN, and in lowering short /i/ before /nk/ and /ng/, as in THINK and THING. See Figure 2, for Berto where there are four raised examples of /e/ before nasals, one in the /e/ position, and one very low, hypercorrect form. Berto and Dominó show this trait most. Reina and

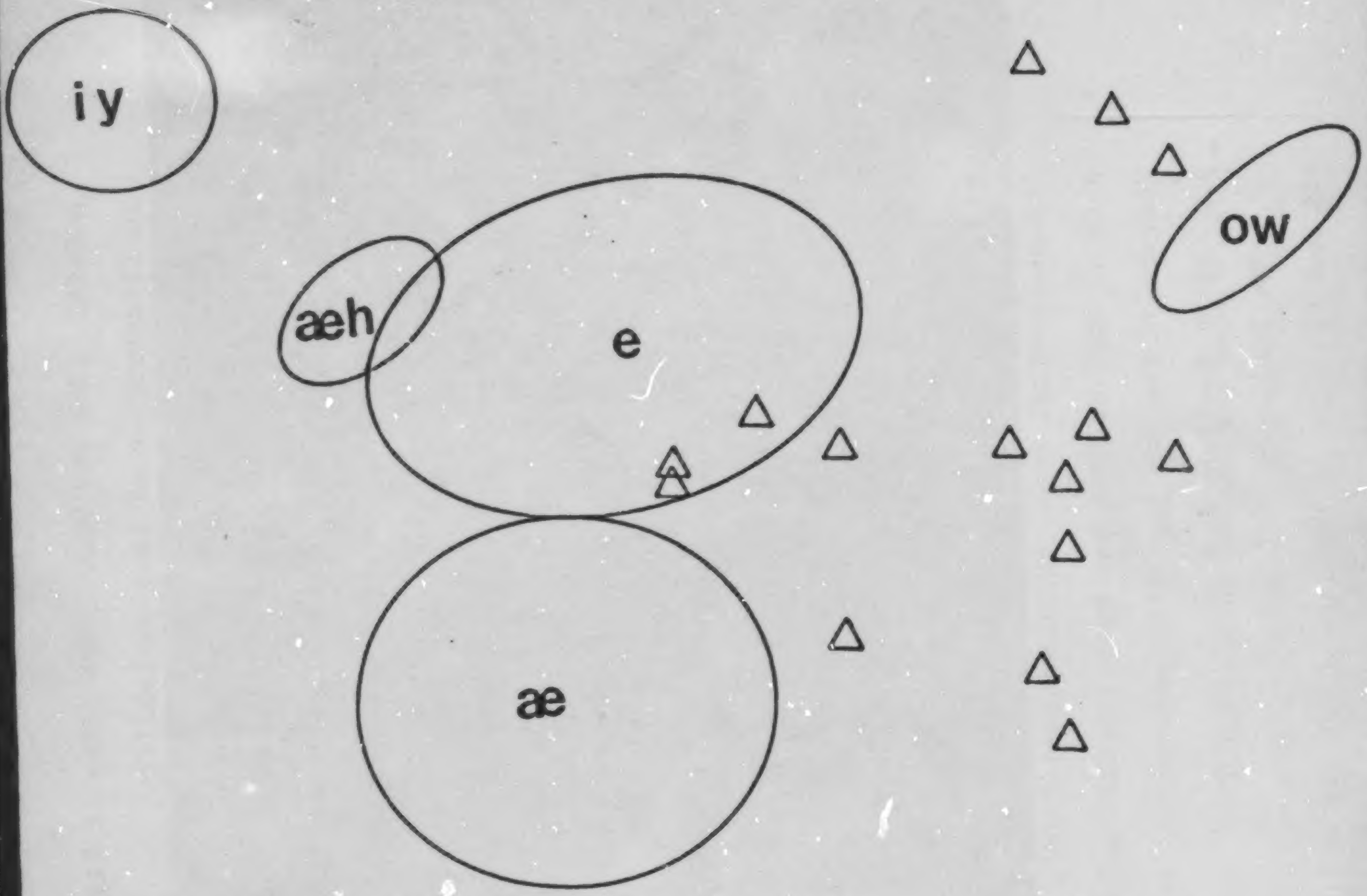

Figure 1. Juana

Junior show the lowering of /i/ before velars. Juana seems to move in the opposite direction, with particularly low /e/ before nasals.

The position of raised /æh/ [æ˔] is not front and peripheral, as in the white vernacular, but non-peripheral and lax, as with Blacks. See Figure 2, where Berto shows this feature clearly. It is also true for Dominó and Juan. Junior shows very low (æh). Reina's productions show both kinds of variation.

/ay/ is monophthongized. In various southern dialects, /ay/ is a monophthong, especially in final position and before voiced consonants. There are lexical class differences in the monophthongization before voiceless consonants, as in RIGHT, LIKE. In the Northern Black English vernacular, /ay/ becomes an important stylistic marker: monophthongization is usually confined to final and voiced environments. The Puerto Rican speakers who show the most Black influence in this respect are Juana, Reina, Junior, and Nelo. They show as much or more monophthongization in voiceless environments as elsewhere. Juana shows a rather special /ay/, with a high central nucleus.

5.4 Spanish influence

Spanish influence is seen most clearly in tense (ey) and (ow), which are often monophthongs where both white and Black New Yorkers show clear diphthongs. Berto,

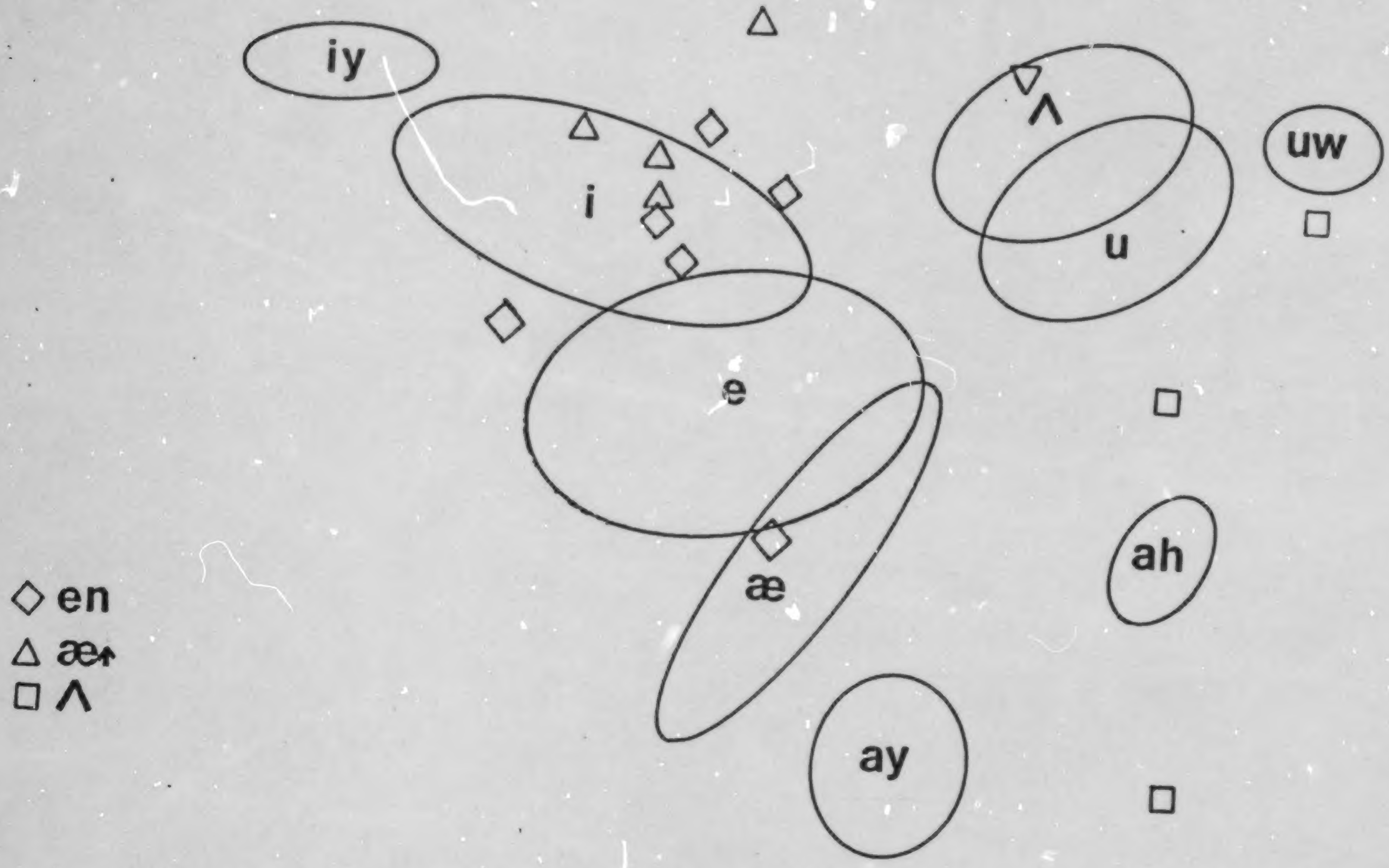

Figure 2. Berto

Dominó, and Juana show the New York City form. Reina and Nelo show the following distribution of monophthongs and diphthongs for (ow):

	monophthong	diphthong
Reina	7	4
Nelo	9	10

The position of wedge [ʌ] in CUT, MOTHER, etc., appears to be due to Spanish influence. Dominó and Junior show a fairly tight distribution similar to the New York City pattern. Juana shows the greatest variability (Figure 1).

For purposes of comparison, we looked at an older speaker, Pancho, who learned English as an adult.[7] His speech shows the direct influence of Spanish on the English vowel system, with a number of phonemic mergers. Despite many years in New York City, there were a number of points where his phonemic system did not match English. The usual stereotype of a Spanish accent is a merger of /iy/ and /i/, (e.g. seat and sit are homophones), and /uw/ and /u/ (cooed and could are homophones). This was not found, nor had it been so with the younger speakers. But there was a wholesale merger of /ow/, /ɔ/ and /oy/ in mid back position: words like ROW, RAW and ROY were all pronounced alike, with a single monophthong. This contrasts with the variability among the sample speakers. On the other hand, Pancho behaved like his younger counterparts in showing great variation in the "wedge" vowel of CUT, MOTHER, etc. Some words were pronounced with /ɔ/, particularly MOTHER and BROTHER, while others went elsewhere.

5.5 Relation of vowel system of sample to white vernacular, Black vernacular, and Spanish systems.

Table 3 organizes the six speakers according to the use of the variables just presented. In each column, the speakers who show a particular influence the most are towards the top: the speakers who show the influence the least are towards the bottom. We have added Pancho for a base line of Spanish influence.

5.6 New developments

In addition to the complex combination of features incorporated from white and Black vernaculars and Spanish, the sample speakers appear to have innovated. The fronting of o , especially before /t/ (as in got) is the most characteristic new feature of the Puerto Rican speakers. Everyone in the sample displays it to some degree. It is particularly noticeable in Juana, Junior, and Nelo. This is a rather subtle shift and not yet incorporated into the consciousness of the speakers (i.e. it is never cited as characteristic nor has it been stereotyped). It remains to be seen how widespread the feature is in the community as a whole.

6.0 Discussion

In Section 5 we presented the basic patterns which

I N F L U E N C E

Spanish			Black			White
(u)	(ow)	(ey)	(en)	(ang)	(ay)	(æh)
Pancho	Pancho	Pancho				
Juana	Reina	Nelo	Berto	Reina	Berto	Juana
Nelo	Nelo		Dominó	Junior	Reina	Reina
					Juana	Berto
Berto					Junior	Dominó
Dominó	Dominó				Dominó	Junior
Reina	Juana			Nelo	Nelo	
Junior	Junior		Juana	Juana		Nelo
			Pancho	Pancho		Pancho

Table 3 : Relative influence of Spanish, Black vernacular, and white vernacular over English vowels of Puerto Rican New Yorkers

emerged from the sample. The summary in Table 3 reveals differential behavior even among so small a sample, differences which can at least partially be explained by reference to what we know about the speakers from our ethnographic fieldwork.

If we turn back to Table 3, we find, not surprisingly, that Pancho, the non-native speaker of English, exhibits the greatest Spanish influence and the least Black and white vernacular English influence. After Pancho, Nelo consistently shows strong Spanish influence. This is probably related to his extensive socializing on the block with older residents and the fact that his job as cook (though placing him in an English-speaking environment - the hotel) provides him with even greater Spanish-speaking contacts. Given the "ghettoization" of such service employment, most of the kitchen help are Hispanic and Spanish is used with all except supervisors. Along this same line, it is not surprising to see Junior at the bottom of the Spanish influence column, since he has the poorest Spanish skills of the group and favors English for most interaction. His job as insurance salesman downtown involves a great deal of communicating, but in a strongly English-speaking environment.

The Black vernacular influence column is somewhat more complicated as speakers are very dispersed. Again we are not surprised to see Pancho and Nelo down near the bottom, but Juana's pattern is unexpected. Given her extensive contact with Blacks and the overall impression of BEV upon hearing her speak, it is hard to understand why she doesn't exhibit more Black vowel qualities like Berto, who actually has fewer interactions with Blacks. The positions of the others do not form any clear pattern, as arguments both for and against their ranking are easily advanced from the ethnographic data.

Similarly, the white vernacular influence column is rather peculiar, although the women's high ranking may be indicative of the well-documented tendency for females to be closer to standard language forms. Once again, Nelo and Pancho appear at the bottom, making it fairly clear that their major axis of identification is Spanish.

7.0 Conclusion

There are few striking patterns that emerge from this investigation. Several individuals do behave predictably, but the others appear to have taken a "smorgasbord" approach to constructing a vowel system. It may be that this is merely the result of the very limited sample - a larger inquiry may reveal more systematicity. However, it may also be evidence of the conflictful state of affairs in which Puerto Rican English speakers find themselves - pulled here and there in various directions because of the contradictions they experience as an ethnic minority in New York City, expected, on the one hand, to assimilate into U.S. society and striving, on the other, to retain Puerto Rican traditions and identity.

We should also consider the fact that vowels constitute only one aspect of the definition of any dialect. We already know that Puerto Ricans utilize a number of BEV consonantal variants, and other features like devoicing of final consonants and dentalization of others have been reported, due perhaps to the influence of Spanish phonology. In addition, there are countless other features in English which have not yet been examined for Puerto Ricans (e.g. word order, lexical choice, tense and aspect), and others which are only beginning to be scrutinized (e.g. stress, in Anisman's work, and prosody, reported elsewhere in this volume).

It would seem that much more work will be necessary before a satisfactory structural description of the English used by Puerto Ricans is achieved. Such a description would have to take into account the different influences described here as well as others which may not be apparent at this time. It will also have to be sensitive to the developments taking place in New York City which are changing the relationship between Puerto Ricans and the so-called "mainstream." These include the great influx of other Hispanics into the area (which makes Spanish language retention and the maintenance of Hispanic identity more likely), the "white flight" from the city (which has contributed to the numerical dominance of Hispanics and Blacks), and the moves to alter the status of Puerto Rico (which have direct implications for language as Puerto Rico has remained a Spanish-speaking area).

Such an investigation would also have to go beyond notions like 'covert prestige' and seriously delve into the role of working class ideology and consciousness in the production and maintenance of a complex, heterogeneous, non-mainstream speech community.

Notes

1. Ethnic, racial, class, and other groups are also distinguished by their consonants. In New York City, speakers regularly vary between r-fulness (r pronouncing) and r-lessness (r deleting). (th) is another consonantal variable, i.e. the variation between standard pronunciations of written "th" and the non-standard of "deese, dems, and dose" fame. BEV is characterized by a number of consonantal variations, including r-lessness, l-lessness, consonant cluster simplification, and weakening of final consonants, many of which we have also noted in the English of Puerto Rican New Yorkers.

2. Among the topics the task force has explored are: code-switching (Poplack 1978b, 1979; Sankoff and Poplack 1980); language attitudes (Attinasi 1979); diglossia (Pedraza, Attinasi and Hoffman 1980); plural marking (Poplack 1980); gender designment to loanwords (Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff 1982). Language Policy Task Force (1980) is a good review of much of this. Most of the above work dealt with adults and adolescents. Language Policy Task Force (1982) reports on intergenerational dimensions of language use in an investigation of children's speech patterns.

3. A sociolinguistic variable is "one which is correlated with some nonlinguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting" (Labov 1972b: 237). Labov divides these into "indicators" - those which are distributed over socioeconomics, ethnic, or age groups--and "markers"--those which show both social and stylistic differentiation. Perhaps the greatest contribution of quantitative sociolinguistics has been the empirical demonstration that speakers vary in pronunciation in regular patterns according to their social group membership or the type of social interaction in which they find themselves, and speakers identify themselves socially in every utterance.

4. These tapes were acquired during long-term ethnographic investigation in a wide range of public settings carried out by Pedro Pedraza. For more information as to the nature of the data corpus and speaker sample, see Pedraza (1982), Language Policy Task Force (1980), and Attinasi (1979).

5. High pitched women's and children's voices tend to be difficult to analyze spectrographically, thus our sample consists of more men than women.

6. The spectrographic analysis on which this report is based was done by John Myhill and William Labov of the Linguistic Department of the University of Pennsylvania under a cooperative agreement with the Centro.

7. Pancho is a member of the fieldworker's family. He was interviewed during the fieldwork for the project reported in Labov and Pedraza (1971). At the time, he was in his 70's and had lived in the Barrio for some 50 years speaking both Spanish and English, the latter with a decided "Spanish accent."

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PROSODIC ANALYSES OF PUERTO RICAN SPEECH

Mel Greenlee

1.0 Introduction

Prosodic features (like phrasing, rate of speech, pitch, intonation, etc.) may be among the most subtly defining characteristics of a speaker's conversational interaction and an important conveyor of meaning. Prosodic features are crucial in interpreting humor and other speaker intentions, and prosodic characteristics are often components of linguistic stereotypes.

Nevertheless, prosody is one of the areas of language in which analysts agree least about the most fundamental issues; indeed, there is disagreement as to whether certain aspects of prosody are properly within the bounds of linguistics at all (Ladd 1980). Given these basic theoretical problems, it might be expected that descriptions of prosodic phenomena would be quite varied, which is in fact the case.

One of the stated goals of the project described in this report was to bring forth an initial characterization of Puerto Rican English, taking into account aspects of this language variety which are historically derived from Black English, local NYC vernacular and Puerto Rican Spanish. This paper will represents an attempt to characterize the speech of Puerto Ricans in New York City in terms of its prosodic contours and their contribution to the structuring and manipulation of discourse, by examining certain prosodic components found within speech segments from four Puerto Rican residents of East Harlem.

As there were few precedents for such an investigation, we first engaged in an extensive review of the work done in prosody which was related in some way to the different language varieties utilized by New York Puerto Ricans, in particular Puerto Rican Spanish and Black English. This review (see Appendix A at the end of this report) sampled a variety of research on the prosody of Spanish and Black speakers, seeking descriptions which would be useful in understanding inter-dialectal and inter-linguistic influence in actual speech data. Very few descriptions were located which could provide unambiguous or complete information upon which to base such a comparison.

By far the most fundamental questions remaining concern how prosody works as a systematic element of Spanish, and of the English of Spanish and Black speakers. Although the early general studies place structural elements of prosody in a special phonological category, the basic theory behind this owes much to an outmoded view of how language works, and consequently how it should be described. Current thinking about prosody stresses its integral role in meaning; however, this has yet to be tapped in most research on Spanish.

If we had hoped for two complete, systematic descriptions against which a third could be prepared, our review would certainly have dashed those hopes. Yet it would have been unrealistic to expect such an outcome, given the extent of disagreement common to the field of prosody as a whole. Although the studies we reviewed did not provide a completely cohesive account, they did serve to suggest directions for our study and to caution against an overly homogeneous, mechanical model.

Only a few words were included in our literature review regarding the contribution of prosody to discourse--largely because of the scarcity of research in this area. The material on Spanish is very impressionistic, old, or lacking altogether, and for Black English, ritualistic uses of prosody are in some ways more well-known than the facts about everyday talk.

In this study, we take a close look at three prosodic components in the speech of four Puerto Rican speakers and attempt to relate these to the organization of discourse and the transmission of meaning in social interaction.

To set the stage for our analysis, we first examine the theoretical issues involved in viewing prosody within the context of discourse. Then we present the methodology we used in collecting, transcribing, and analyzing the speech segments. Finally, we consider the actual speech of the sample in terms of phrasing and rate of speech, placement of major pitch obtrusion, and contour types. We also consider the role of the interviewer within the interaction. We conclude with a critique of our own practice and an agenda for future work.

2.0 Interactional analysis of prosody--the major issues

In Appendix B of this report are preliminary results of some instrumental acoustic analyses we carried out which focused on differences in the use of pitch (fundamental frequency) and tempo (specifically, segmental durations) by two Puerto Rican speakers of English, one English-dominant and the other Spanish-dominant. In these analyses, contours and durations were considered in relative isolation, that is, measurements were carried out on physical acoustic phenomena in short stretches of speech with little regard for the pragmatic function of the passages in the discourse from which they were drawn. However, as Gumperz (1982b), Bennett (1978), and Ladd (1980) have pointed out, such an analysis touches only part of prosodic use--that produced by the speaker; perception of such phenomena by the listener and their role in shaping rhetorical structure may also differ cross-culturally, but finding out about such differences necessarily involves a broader view of prosodic phenomena.

In this segment of the paper, both the goal of the analysis and the discourse context considered will be more broad. In examining recorded texts of Puerto Rican speakers, one goal will be to determine how speakers' use of prosody differs. However, in considering these potential differences, prosody will be viewed within the context of communicative interaction--a rich context which contains not only individual speakers' behavior but also sequential relationships between utterances of the same speaker and/or those of conversational partners. Gumperz (1982a: 328) has emphasized that understanding ordinary conversations requires "... simultaneous processing of signs at several levels of signalling... ." These levels include "prosodic, phonological, syntactic, lexical, and rhythmic... ." An interactive approach to the role of prosody in conversation would necessarily tie together several aspects of these signalling systems in order to form potential interpretations of the interaction. Coulthard & Brazil (1982: 87) have argued that "intonational divisions speakers make in their utterances...are motivated by a need to add moment-by-moment situationally specific, intonationally conveyed meanings to particular words or groups of words."

Interpretation of situationally specific meanings is the task not only of participants in a conversation, but also of the analyst who seeks to understand it. According to Bennett (1978:5), the goals of the analyst and of the participants are similar in that "both have to have some consistent way to interpret and make sense out of talk." However, the analyst's task unlike that of the participants, involves making explicit those aspects of conversational interaction (including prosodic signalling) which participants most often manipulate implicitly. The analyst must "become aware of the processes of meaning assignment or rather...make explicit the modes of understanding and the means whereby understanding is achieved in conversation." In short, the goal of the analyst is "to understand what the participants understand" (Bennett 1978:28).

It is unfortunately true, as the cross-cultural studies of Erickson & Schultz (1981) and Gumperz have pointed out, that participants may often fail to reach their goal of mutual understanding, even about such basic matters as the nature of the talk in which they are engaged, e.g., is it a chat, a discussion, an interview? If the participants may not achieve full understanding, then it might be expected that the goal set for the analyst is likewise an ideal which is, in practice, sometimes not attained. It seems probable that even the most detailed interpretation may turn out to be quite different from that of the participants, particularly when carried out (as in the present case) without benefit of visually recorded information about the speech context or feedback from the participants, whose ethnicity differs from that of the analyst.

A further limitation on the analyst's interpretation (with specific regard to prosody) is that an integrated theory of prosodic structure in discourse is largely lacking. Analysts' opinions differ about what prosody "does" in discourse and even whether it "does" anything at all. The most comprehensive account of these differences of opinion, Ladd (1980), argues that prosodic features such as prominence cannot be understood unless they are considered in context--yet the context he considers is still relatively small. Gumperz & Bennett contend that understanding the role of prosody in discourse requires units larger than those of traditional linguistic analysis.

Concerning the principal functions of prosodic variations such as intonation contours, analysts agree that a principal function is in discourse cohesion. For example, Gunter (1982:301) in a review of Ladd's book, states that the main function of intonation is "...to help in signalling relevance, that is, how the utterance now being made is connected to what went before." Gumperz (1982a:329) observed that prosody is one of many devices which are available for "foregrounding", subordinating", and "associating" information in discourse.

A second important function is more directly regulative, e.g. indicating potential turn-taking points in a conversation of signalling boundaries (e.g., between the preliminary remarks and a formal lecture).

At present, the extent to which Puerto Rican speakers may differ from other New Yorkers in these uses of prosody is largely unknown. However, the current state of prosodic analysis and theory is such that the significance of potential or actual variation is not easy to determine. Gunter states that "sometimes...intonation means nothing at all. The problem is that we must say an intonation with every sentence: we have no choice." McGregor (1982: 107) likewise despairs of understanding what prosody means, "Given the mutual and continuous creation of meaning in discourse, it would be quite wrong to assume that what any speaker 'means' is specifiable in terms of the function of particular prosodic or paralinguistic systems." Rather than rely on analysts' interpretations, McGregor suggests asking the hearers what they have understood.

Bennett (1978) notes that "a theory of interpretation and a method for verifying interpretations is lacking."

Summarizing these difficulties, although most analysts agree that prosody is an integral part of conversational meaning, not all agree on how meaning is achieved or how the contribution of prosody is to be gauged; participants' and analysts' interpretations of the same interaction may be at odds with each other, so that the validity of an integrated interpretation is called into question. These conflicts would be important to bear in mind in evaluating how the present work fits into discourse analyses of prosodic use.

Conflicts about the interpretation of prosody arise, at least in part, because of a traditional split between "linguistic" uses of prosodic variation and "paralinguistic" uses, which were thought to reflect the speakers' attitude. Ladd observes that this division is largely artificial, allowing the analyst to conveniently dispense with those prosodic phenomena which did not neatly fit into a discrete-contrast model such as that of structural phonemics.

Some of the most interesting situations in which "attitudes" or intentions are mistakenly attributed are those analyzed by Gumperz, in which cross-cultural communication seems to have gone awry. Not only prosody, but other "signalling systems" contribute to such breakdowns, in which hearers often interpret speakers' utterances incorrectly and negatively. However, since prosody may be less consciously used, its misuse may be harder to disentangle. O'Connor & Arnold (1972:2) believe that "English speakers are able to make a good deal of allowance for imperfect sound-making, but being for the most part unaware of the far-reaching effects of intonation in their own language, they are much less able to make the same allowance for mistakenly used tunes." Thus, passengers interpreted as rude the misuse of falling intonation by a West Indian bus driver on the word "please", while his intention had been to be polite (Gumperz 1982b:169).

The meaningfulness of prosody in communication derives from a set of conventions concerning how prosodic variations fit together with other aspects of the message to highlight or downplay potential 'senses' in which the message could be taken. However, as Gumperz (1982:131-2) observed, prosody is only one of a number of "contextualization cues" which are "habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly." Included among such cues are choice words, as well as conversational "openings and closings" and "syntactic options". Since the integration of these cues and their interpretation is conventionalized and unconscious, when a speaker misuses or misinterprets them (as the West Indian bus driver did) this "is regarded as a social faux pas and leads to misjudgements of the speakers' intent [emphasis mine]; it is not likely to be identified as a mere linguistic error." Not only prosody, but all such cues could be interpreted as "attitude"; in this light, the traditional view of prosody as attitude conveyor appears even more tenuous.

Given the many disagreements about what prosody is, how to analyze it, and what it does, the goal of the present study is a modest one--the aim is to consider prosody's contribution to differences among the interactions of four Puerto Rican speakers. As will be seen, these interactions vary in their participants' apparent definition of the task in which they are engaged as well as in the discourse strategies undertaken to accomplish speakers' messages. In at least one of the interactions, prosodic usage, combined with lexical and syntactic repetition, produces a strongly formulaic 'sense' within a clearly structured whole. In another interaction, prosody as well as lexical choices seem to reflect a skeletal dialogue, in which speaker and hearer negotiate with difficulty.

3.0 Methods

The method of analysis employed in this segment of the report was fairly straightforward; repeated listening to recorded interactions, while carrying out detailed prosodic transcription of the passages. From a larger corpus, portions of sociolinguistic interviews were selected because they were relatively quiet and represented a context or situation which all participants shared. For purposes of this analysis, passages were selected in which the interviewer asks a complex question. The duration of selected passages varied greatly, from 40 seconds to 2 minutes, 11 seconds. The amount of talk from the interviewer also varied, as will be seen.

A prosodic transcription was assigned to each passage using the notational devices indexed in Appendix 1 . The notational system is based on the three-level ("tone-grouping, stress placement, and melodic shape") system outlined by Gumperz (1982b) and (more directly) Bennett (1981); it is ultimately derived from the work of British researchers, e.g., John Trim. Tone groups were marked, as were pauses (using a watch with a second hand), and pitch contours were described impressionistically using the markings of Bennett (1981) and additional diacritics detailed in the margins of the transcripts (see Appendix 2).

Four speakers were selected on the basis of sociolinguistic factors which make them representative of a small cross-section of the male members of the target community (Cf. Attinasi 1979). Table I shows the basic demographic data for the four speakers.

Table 1

Demographic data for target speakers interviewed

Name	Age	Age Arrived U.S.	Language Dominance Reported	Education
Capitán	58	28	Spanish	9th grade
Franco	28	13	English	(no info)
Nelo	34	4	Bilingual	8th grade
Dominó	40	8	Bilingual	College

As Table 1 shows, one of the speakers is largely monolingual in Spanish, another prefers to use English and two are bilingual. The two bilingual speakers nevertheless differ in education.

4.0 Particular prosodic components compared across the four speakers

4.1 Phrasing and rate

As noted above, the eight passages varied greatly in length, from under a minute to almost 2 and a quarter minutes. The interactions can also be characterized from a temporal point of view through pause durations and through the length of participants' turns between changes of speaker. Although the consideration of timing differences is necessarily dependent on the size and representativeness of the speech sample, it was clear that the interviewees differed greatly in both such timing characteristics.

The most distinct interviews in this regard (see

Appendix 2) seemed to be those of Capitán (Spanish) and Dominó (both languages). Capitán's Spanish passage contains few long pauses, which contribute to making it seem rapid and urgent. However, Dominó, particularly in the English interview, produced numerous pauses of over a second in duration. These pauses (combined with other surface forms, e.g. lexical choice) contribute to an impression of an extremely cautious response. In Dominó's English passage, the pauses in his narrative are in contrast to rather more rapid parenthetical remarks ("Like I said...so I really don't know...").

In terms of phrasing, Dominó's qualifying remarks often form a separate tone group from the main assertion, e.g., "They said"...(that they didn't want no Black...); "I've also heard"... (2 clauses) (that there is a color distinction). My interpretation of this separation is that the speaker is careful to detach himself from the controversial, racism question being addressed.

In Dominó's Spanish passage, it is also clear that rate differences exist, although they are somewhat difficult to interpret, given the tape break after I6. His rate definitely speeds up between D4 and D7. In defining contribuciones in line 10, Dominó again ends up qualifying his answer after a long pause (estimated at 6 seconds!) between cosas así (line 13 and realmente (line 14).

Surveying Dominó's two passages, both seem to rely on a similar kind of rhetorical strategy--defining by example (in the English case, by a narrative) and prosodically, use of tone groups and pausing to qualify remarks. The last sentence of the Spanish passage seems highly marked in terms of prosody, syntax (simple as opposed to complex), and in its brevity, to all of the rest of Dominó's remarks. This contrast could be interpreted as adding special saliency to this last sentence as a finale to the interview's complex question.

An approximate sum of pause time in Dóminó's taped passages yielded 46 seconds per one and a half minutes for the English passage, with the longest pause 5 seconds in duration. For the Spanish passage, the longest pause was ten seconds (immediately after the interviewer's opening question) and 49 seconds of the one minute, 42 second passage were consumed by pauses!

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Capitán's Spanish passage contains only a few one-second pauses. Even though the longest turn (C14-20) uses syntactic subordination and relatively long tone groups, Capitán's self-interruptions (e.g., "mira, el pro-"), tags, and emphatic stress, combine to create an impression of a more rapid delivery. This impression may be enhanced by the recording situation in which Capitán was at first competing for the floor.

Capitán's English passage does contain pauses (in S19, 6 seconds elapse after "¿Qué tú crees?"). Although he relies on a similar rhetorical strategy (question and answer, with many tags) several tone groups are short (e.g., in S12 "my kids"), and syntax in this passage shows less subordination than that in the Spanish one. Unlike the Spanish passage, in which there is competition for the floor, in the English passage, Capitán is largely monologuing.

Franco and Nelo's Spanish passages seem at first similar, in that both use rhythmic and lexical repetition for rhetorical effect. However, Franco's answer is more lengthy and elaborated within the rhetorical format he has set, while Nelo challenged by I., ceases his monologue and enters into a debate about the question and his answer. In contrast to the latter part of Nelo's interview, the repetitions in Nelo's lines 2-ff and Franco's lines 6-ff seem highly formalized--similar to the lecture or political address styles discussed by Gumperz (1982b). For both speakers, although tone groups are not necessarily short, boundaries are clearly delineated both lexically and prosodically. Franco, in particular, seems to use greatly lengthened phrase-final syllables to mark off tone groups. Both Franco and Nelo finish their answers with a single, capper sentence marked by reduced rate and pitch contouring.

Franco's English passage is characterized by similarly well-demarcated boundaries between tone-groups, although lexical repetition does not seem to interact as much with prosody to create boundaries in this passage as in the Spanish one. Lines F20-ff and F31-ff of the English passage have similar phrasing, pace-wise, yet in terms of contouring, they differ from the Spanish passage containing similar syntactic structure.

Nelo's English passage is the longest, and like his Spanish segment, it contains considerable interaction and some overlaps with the interviewer. Nelo's answer contains so much subordination that the interviewer gets lost, yet he marks off boundaries by contrasting emphasis, which often falls on monosyllabic words (e.g. N7: WHAT language...; N17-18: LOOK vs. SPEAK). These contrasts should help in keeping the answer coherent, but in fact, they seem to have confused the listener. (These will be discussed further below). It is interesting to compare those long turns in which Nelo is responding to the complex question with those short remarks ("No, nah--wait a minute!" Play it back.") which seem clearly separated from the tenor of the 'expository' speech, not only by their content, but also by rate cues, loudness, and laughter.

Differences in phrasing may be as much a function of individual style as reflective of the different interviewee's conception of what was required as an answer. Interpretation of rate cues in Capitán's passages may be affected not only by his productions, but also by their perception through the native rhythmic system of a non-Spanish speaker. The impression of rapidity is apparently a very common misperception of Spanish rhythmic patterns by English speakers (Cf. Stockwell & Bowen 1965). Phrasing differences will be discussed further in considering the role of the interviewer in affecting the course of the different speaker's answers.

4.2 Placement of major pitch obtrusion

In most texts on British or American English intonation (e.g. O'Connor & Arnold 1972), a tone-group is described as having one accented syllable which manifests a change or "obtrusion" in pitch-contour. The position of the prominent syllable may vary considerably, depending on the relationship of the utterance to preceding and following reference, as well as on the syntax of the sentence (Crystal 1975). However, as Gumperz and Ladd have noted, the prediction of accent placement in English is not straightforward, and it may require considering a larger sequence of discourse to decipher than that traditionally considered in linguistic analysis. Gumperz (1982b:112) notes that accent placement "...signals important syntactic, pragmatic and expressive information, and it involves a degree of optionality which is much greater than that associated with sentence level grammatical phenomena. The freedom of choice in fact seems to be more akin to that which we find in lexical selection and in code switching."

In Puerto Rican Spanish, as described by the traditional methods of analysis (Navarro Tomás 1944; Jones 1962) and in the accented English spoken by Jones' Puerto Rican informants, the position of the accented syllable seems to differ from the purportedly 'usual' English pattern. Jones (p. 264) states, "the prominent syllable of the last rhythm group in an accented English utterance is ordinarily like that in American English, viz., at or near the end of the utterance; but, it is sometimes like that in Puerto Rican Spanish...back from the end of the utterance... ."

Since the placement of the major pitch-obtrusion varies considerably in connected English discourse and also since this prosodic difference often acts in conjunction with other changes to enhance meaning (e.g. changes in loudness and/or tempo), it is nearly impossible to discuss them without making mention of other prosodic and semantic shifts. Thus, the reader is warned to expect some overlap between remarks in this section and those to come.

In the recorded texts of the present study, the most extreme contrasts in accent placement were noted in comparing Franco and Capitán's passages (see Appendix C). But, as will be discussed, the nature of these differences lay not only in the position of prosodic prominence, but also in the type of pitch contouring used by the two speakers. Since these two speakers were the most different, in looking at accent placement, I will concentrate on description and analysis of their passages.

Considering first Capitán's Spanish transcript, many tone-group final words show a pitch-change (the 'expected' English pattern as well), e.g., C:1 "...mejor"; C:11 "...aquí"; C:19 "...mano". However, the position in which emphasized material occurs is usually earlier, e.g., C:16 has one strongly stressed qualifier in a string ("jefe *automático*) after which the pitch falls and rate slows to a close.

In contrast, in Capitán's English passage, it is apparent that many of the strongly emphasized syllables appear in utterance-final position so that they coincide with the sentential inflection, e.g. C:7 "...grandes"; C:3 "...long"; "knocking on *wood*". In Capitán's English passage, such emphasized words complete many short tone groups, or series of short tone groups, in syntactically simple phrases. Capitán's last English turn contains the most complex subordination, but it is also marked by a number of minor prosodic shifts over the course of the utterance which serve to break it up into less complex processing units.

In Franco's English passage, the positioning of emphasized words at first appears similar to Capitán's use, since in F11 (BRAINWASHED), F20 (THERE), F24 (NOWHERE), and F32 (DOCTORS, ANYTHING), strongly emphasized words appear near a minor tone group boundary. However, listening to the two English passages gives a much different impression, perhaps due to the way tempo changes are combined with pitch shifts. As mentioned above, Franco lengthened emphasized syllables to a considerable degree (impressionistically), and this rate change, along with his use of pausing and repetition, provides a kind of oratorical unity of a highly formulaic sort (Cf. Gumperz 1982b). A very similar impression is afforded by Franco's Spanish passage in which phrase-final words are similarly contoured and lengthened to complement lexical repetition (Cf. line F16 "está en la LUCHA, aquí en el BARRIO, y en la ISLA...").

4.3 Contour types

Jones (1962) mentions that "the use of gliding contours, while quite common in American English, is rare in Puerto Rican Spanish." On the other hand, gliding contours appeared to be characteristic of other Spanish speakers' English speech--Chicanos (Penfield 1981).

Among the four Puerto Rican speakers in the present study, all used glide-contours in both languages, although the manner in which these pitch changes interacted with content and other prosodic dimensions was certainly not equivalent.

Capitán's samples stood out from the rest in that he seemed to use many shifts in register, i.e., a step-up or step-down in pitch, as opposed to a gliding rise or fall. In his English passage, the shift upward in pitch was sometimes accompanied by a change towards louder speech, perhaps in order to compete more effectively for the floor. This is particularly evident in the rhetorical questions of C:4, C:5, C:10.

Capitán also used another prosodic technique seemingly uncommon among the other speakers. I have called this a "ramp" contour. In this contour, the pitch seems to steadily rise over the whole tone group (Cf. in the Spanish passage, C14: "Te lo estoy diciendo.") At present, it is unknown whether these shifts are unique to the speaker or whether they are a feature of Puerto Rican "accented" English, although the comments of Jones and Ladd, as well as textbook descriptions (Barrutia & Terrell 1982) would suggest the latter. For instance, Ladd has suggested that prosodic analysis of intonation in terms of sequence of level tones may be more apt for languages such as Spanish, than it is for English.

In Capitán's English passage, the use of register shifts and 'ramp' contours was particularly striking.

|← For example, in C10, a ramp (rising overall shape) and loudness shifts result in stress on the pronoun *them*--a most unusual position for emphasis, given the surrounding discourse, for a native English speaker. It would seem much more likely to have the point of pitch-change be the verb, with a high-fall or rise-fall: But I still lôve them. Unless *them* were being contrasted with another group of people (i.e., another possible referent--"I don't mean *them*$_1$, I mean *them*$_2$"), this word would not be focussed.

The upward register shifts which Capitán uses on the first Wh-word of rhetorical questions (e.g. C24: "What can I wait?") may be reflective of a tendency (like that noted in Jones' informants) for the position of pitch shifts in such structures to move back toward the beginning of the utterance.

In Franco and Nelo's English passages, the presence of such register shifts is less common, although some were found. Franco's English sample was marked by frequent use of rise-fall contours, which were accompanied by lengthened syllables; rise-fall contours often occurred in the context of repetition.

When Franco used an upward register shift in his English interview, it appeared to mark boundaries--either a beginning (e.g., launching into his verbal performance-F5), or starting up after a filled pause (e.g. "A lotta-" in F14). It is also used to contrast Franco's point of view with others', e.g. in F22: "For me..." or F27: "We're not dummies. The latter utterance also seems to represent a good example of what Liberman & Sag (1974) have called the 'contradiction contour." Franco's use of upward shift, as well as rise-fall contours often served to provide a prosodic contrast which complemented his line of argument, which in the English passage at least, involved presenting a proposition and its counter-proposition in close proximity.

Nelo's passages also contained some use of upward register shifts which seem to parallel those of Capitán, e.g., when he is interrupting or competing for the floor (Cf. Spanish passage, N14), he raises both the pitch register and loudness of his voice. This association between prosody and pragmatic function is far from perfect, and it is seldom seen in Nelo's English passage. In the English passage, it was more common for the transcriber to perceive downward register shifts, while emphasis is conveyed by rise-fall contours. One very distinctive use of register occurs in N30 in which Nelo quotes or mimics a question asked of a seeming non-Puerto Rican: "Oh you're Puerto Rican?" In this utterance, there is a very large fall on "Puerto Rican" followed by a formulaic 'sing-song' pattern on N31: "Well, I could never tell" which combines with the content to give it what I thought was a humorous connotation. At any rate, it certainly seems to cue the listener that it is not the quoting of a real conversation that is taking place.

In Dominó's transcripts, upward register shifts occur rarely, but may serve to mark boundaries, in a similar way to that seen in Franco's passages. For example, consider D8: "One time.."; D14: "this is comments..." in the English, and D17: "Es un sentir..." in the Spanish.

The real pragmatic impact of contour types is difficult to assess in considering each separate parameter across speakers' passages, since context, syntax, and apparent relationship with the interviewer also varied across the sessions, as did the reported language preferences of each speaker. Given the extent of co-variation, it is difficult to measure the extent to which prosodic differences are intertwined with linguistic and extralinguistic differences in the eight situations.

Nevertheless, it does not appear to be the case that language preference or even language spoken in the passages chosen can completely characterize speakers' control of prosody. That is, it is not true that certain contour types, phrasing, or accent positions occur only in one language and never in the other. Although the inventory of prosodic material which speakers have available seems to be similar, it does seem likely that the manner in which it is distributed with respect to other "contextualization cues" is not only a feature of language spoken, but also of individual socialization and definition of the task at hand. Even given the recognized tendency of analysts to foist their own system off on unsuspecting passages in another language (Cf. Pointon 1980), what appears most striking about the one most-accented Spanish speaker's English is not his inventory of prosodic devices, but rather the manner in which that inventory is combined with semantic content. This will be discussed further below.

The most direct parallels between the two languages can probably be seen in Capitán's use of some highly formulaic tags in both passages (C4), the two tags: "¿Te das cuenta cómo es?" and "You know what I mean?" are quite similar rhythmically and in terms of their pitch contour, almost as if the segmental material were merely plugged into a rhetorical frame with an associated prosodic structure.

At the other end of the spectrum, Dominó seems to create a cautious impression through a similar prosodic device in both languages: slowing down before filled or unfilled pauses of fairly extensive length.

It seems possible that both of these examples of parallels could merely reflect rhetorical habits of the speakers and only incidentally, something about prosody.

As in studies of 'interlanguage' in second-language acquisition, prosodic phenomena may arise in a situation of language contact which are really not attributable to either system, but nevertheless serve a useful communicative function for the L_2 learner in getting a message across. More extensive sampling of Puerto Rican speakers' discourse in comparable situations would be needed to determine what points of prosodic structuring are shared within the community and across languages.

5.0 The role of the interviewer

As mentioned above, passages were selected because they came from a context all participants shared--an interview. However, that certainly did not mean that all conceived of what they should do in the same way.

Discourse analysts (such as Gumperz and Bennett) argue that in beginning an interaction, participants seek to establish a common frame of reference or interpretation, which mutually helps to define the speech activity in which they are engaged, e.g. a service encounter, a discussion, a scolding. Retro-active reassessment of an interaction may occur if the interlocutors discover that one or both of them have misgauged the nature of the interactive 'work' they have set out to do. Not only must partners succeed in establishing such an interactive frame at the beginning of an interaction, but they must also attend to the dynamic flow of talk, which can shift the entire view of what a discourse means and what it is accomplishing. One of the most dramatic of such shifts might be when the genre itself is changed, while the participants continue to interact, e.g., a preliminary chat followed by a professional session between lawyer and client, doctor and patient, or pastor and counselee.

While the recorded interviews of the present study do not contain such dramatic shifts, they do seem to vary in the extent to which the interviewer participated in the interaction and helped to shape its outcome. The participants' conception of their task is doubtless influenced by the interviewer's contributions, although at times his speech is limited to back-channel remarks of encouragement (M-hm, etc). Some differences between the interviewer's relationship with participants included the following: Capitán appears to have regarded the interviewer as a cross between schoolteacher and social worker. On the other hand, Nelo and the interviewer exhibit comraderie through the laughter, interruptions, and challenges which highlight both Nelo's passages. Dominó's interviews reflect an almost clinical detachment--an impression fostered not only by his lexical choices and pauses in the passages, but also by the interviewer's behavior.

A sequential consideration of interviews in which the same complex question was asked of different speakers can serve to show how several discourse features combine to give a distinct progression to the respective sessions, and cumulatively to determine the outcome of the interview. The same question, "How would you explain what it means to be Puerto Rican?" was asked in Spanish of Franco, Nelo, and Dominó. All three speakers seemed to share certain beliefs about what the question called for, in terms of verbal performance. These shared assumptions affected both the shape of their responses and their length. Specifically, all seemed to believe that, in response to the complex sort of question asked by I., one must convince, justify, and build a strong argument if possible. It would not do to merely state an attitude or reiterate a belief as the answer.

Dominó's answer seems most sharply in contrast to those of the other two speakers. The many long pauses in Dominó's Spanish session add to this contrast. Scollon (1982:338) has observed that long pauses such as those used by Dominó may occasion negative stereotypes, e.g. individuals may be regarded as "cold, withdrawn, and even hostile." Another manner in which such pauses could affect the listener is as cautious, reflecting on what he is about to say (Gumperz & Kaltman (1979:48). These authors found that prosodic contouring followed by pauses conveyed the effect of "conscious reflection or active planning."

Dominó's first reaction to the question is to ask for clarification, which he then considers for about 7 seconds. He begins by a concession D4-5 which is quickly acknowledged by the interviewer. After the break, Dominó speeds up so that the interviewer does not add any more verbal prods. Dominó seems to be answering, "Ser puertorriqueño es sentir orgullo " (To be Puerto Rican is to feel pride). The brief elaboration of pride in civic action and in keeping language and cultural practices alive seems to constitute an incomplete list, marked by the 6-second pause after Ah-(D13) and before realmente (D14).

The lexicon of his qualifying statement (D16: "me ha confrontado") and also the prosody of the long disclaimer form a backdrop for his simple final statement (Ser puertorriqueño) "es un sentir" (D17). Even though both at the beginning and at the end of his answer Dominó has proclaimed it difficult to characterize, in the end it is quite simple. In lines D10-13 rhythmic continuity may have helped the listener know more was to follow in the long sequence of "hacen contribuciones..." (D10) up to "practican (D12), just as the register shift and high fall with emphasis on the last item combined with content to let the interviewer know the answer was complete. The long list-like elaboration in which lenguaje is repeated (D12) is perhaps the part of Dominó's passage which most resembles that of the other two speakers to be considered.

Looking at Franco's answer, he also begins by asking what is expected of him and pauses several seconds before launching into his answer. Franco uses a kind of telescoping to get his argument off the ground, creating a geneologically expanding group whose activities he then elaborates. This telescoping could also have been seen as making very precise the explanation called for. These preliminaries done, Franco seems to give a short lecture, with a repeated tag-line. In rhythmic structure, this passage (from F7 on) seemed reminiscent of a litany in which a line is repeated once for every new utterance. However, the original material, in both length and specificity, outstrips the repeating tag line. For example, the subjunctives in lines F20-21 (que suba, y que mire pa 'trás) contrast with the descriptive indicatives in the preceding line, having the effect, like the geneology in the beginning of the passages of a telescoping attribution: e.g., "whoever fits this description... then that person, regardless of sex, is a true Puerto Rican." The large pitch shift on the conjunction "o" (F22) is accompanied by a lengthening which indicates that the end of his argument is being made. Given the breadth of people included under Franco's answer, it is difficult to imagine how a counter argument, such as the one posed by the interviewer in Nelo's session, could have successfully been raised. In Franco's passage, the interviewer's role is quite limited; although Franco asks for confirmation (F13: entiendes?"), he only specifically requires the interviewer's response in evaluating his performance: (F25: ¿contesté bien o mal?)

Nelo's answer begins with a general statement which the interviewer construes as excluding himself. During this statement, Nelo seems to put emphasis on segmental aspects of P.R. Spanish phonology (the uvular r's are very clear). It is tempting to wonder whether this emphasis, like the subjunctives used by Franco may be 'performance' aspects of Spanish as a medium the interviewer has earlier specifically requested, and which, over and above the lexical content of the answers, also affects the discourse meaning.

It is also of interest that in Nelo's passage the clarification which the other speakers asked for early on--and then proceeded on--is not achieved til almost the end of the session. It is, moreover, achieved through a series of fairly aggressive challenges and counters on the part of both interlocutors. The argument goes something like this:

A. "Being Puerto Rican means being born on the island, being nationalized there, and baptized."

B. "However, if one's parents are Puerto Rican, then the child, even if not fitting the first description, is also Puerto Rican."

Although Nelo, at first, describes this second generation as "descent," he later clarifies that it means nationality.

The crux of the argument is brought out in lines 22-33, in which the interviewer adds solamente (I:23) to the earlier description by Nelo ("a Puertorriqueño is only a person born in Puerto Rico). The fact that the interviewer is actively participating can be noted in his completion of Nelo's sentences, his seizing the floor in I:22, and his several repeats of the same utterance in attempts (I:6, I:12, I:20) to get Nelo to see his views as the logical consequence of Nelo's earlier descriptive statement. Nelo does not seem to see his point until at least N:21. It seems likely that the word solamente in I:33, which is emphasized not only by the initial loudness of the utterance but also by a rise-fall, represents a turning point.

Nelo's utterance in N:33 is a counter challenge to the interviewer's preceding comments and his explanation in N:30-31 makes explicit what the interviewer has been getting at all along. The fact that the interviewer interrupts and keeps going in I:28-29 while Nelo is speaking fosters an impression that he is becoming somewhat exasperated. Finally, after receiving an apparently more acceptable answer, he expands on Nelo's reply (I37). However, by exaggerating his response (N40-41), Nelo points out that this expansion is not what he had intended.

In the three interviews, the participants' apparent relationship differs not only in the amount of interaction, but also in the type of interaction which takes place. Although remarks based on such a small sample are no more than speculations, consideration of only one partner's role (e.g., in Nelo's interaction) would miss quite a lot of how shared and conflicting views move a discourse forward. The exclusion of one participant's remarks might also serve to ignore the differences among the interviews in how the interaction is negotiated and how long such negotiation takes.

6.0 Conclusions

The goal of this paper was to review some of the work done on prosodic analysis and then provide an integrative description of how prosody, in the context of extended discourse, contributed to differentiating eight passages produced by four Puerto Rican speakers. The aim was to survey not only differences in the types of contours or rhythmic phenomena speakers employed, but also different patterns across the four speakers in how these prosodic phenomena combined with other aspects of the message--semantic, syntactic, or rhetorical--in order to convey distinct listener impressions.

Various limitations of such an analysis were mentioned at the outset, and it seems clear that interpretations given are at best hypotheses. At present, since there exists no theory of interpretation against which alternatives could be measured, conclusions about the passages seem more akin to literacy criticism (and subject to the same flaws) than they do to linguistic analysis of a more atomic sort.

One way of checking remarks concerning the nature of the interactions would be to utilize Gumperz' techniques, in which members of the community serve as judges of recorded passages. As members are asked increasingly specific questions, elicitation procedures are developed for collecting and interpreting instances of similar interactions. As Gumperz (1982b:137) states, such procedures allow the analyst "to relate interpretations to identifiable features of message form [in this case prosody], [and] to identify chains of inferences... ." The difficulty in using such a method, in terms of prosody, is that such judges--and a great many linguists--do not agree on what prosody means. Moreover, prosody is below listeners' awareness to such a degree that there is no common vocabulary for speaking about it at all. While listeners may recognize deviations from the expected, they may not be adept at specifying just what formal differences in a passage constituted the "deviation". Such difficulties would necessitate gathering data from a fairly large number of listeners in order to examine trends in their interpretation of a passage.

In the present document, passages have been examined by one listener (with help on some of the passages from another). The goal of an integrative analysis seemed to be most clearly achieved in looking at the passages sequentially, regarding the contribution of the interviewer, as well as the manner in which the different speakers presented their answers to a complex question through rhetorical structuring. However, to say that different speakers use different rhetorical strategies in passages analyzed may say little about their repertoire. For example, on a different occasion, Capitán might turn out to use the litany-like rhetoric Franco displayed or Dominó, the tag-studded style of Capitán.

A further difficulty in the present method may have been organizational; as Gumperz has pointed out, prosody does not mean something as instances of a type, but rather, prosody is one of the dimensions through which contextualization occurs in an interaction. Consideration of timing, contours, and potential language differences (separately) detracted from a contextually integrated view, and may have restricted the view of conversational inferencing between participants in the eight passages.

In the most ideal of possible worlds, the eight passages could have been chosen with more regard for content similarity (e.g. all eight representing answers to the same question) so that the contribution of prosody to differentiating the interactions could have been more salient, or easy to sort out. As it is, each step of the interpretation is made somewhat tentatively, since it is unknown how many dimensions of variation may account for the observed distinctions in outcome, or among listener impressions. The cumulative effect of such unknown factors is to leave the observations at a more surface level than they could be if more baseline data on prosodic structuring or more control for content were available.

Despite the preliminary nature of interpretations in this report, it seems clear that some statements of previous analysts are supported and others are simply untenable. For example, it seems very likely that Jones' general statement concerning the distributional differences between Puerto Rican Spanish and English may be more accurate than specific comments of other authors (as well as Jones) concerning the specific prosodic inventory. At the moment, it seems very risky indeed to state that any contour type never appears in either of the languages or in the speech of the community under study. However, with more directed research using Gumperz' elicitation methods, it may be possible to say that some prosodic shapes in a particular context do not carry the same inferential weight or imply the same discourse consequences among these bilingual speakers as they would among non-community members who spoke exclusively English. In the present set of data, it is Capitán's use of accent placement which may represent an example of such a difference.

In future studies, another potential direction could be to look for instances in which problems in negotiating the 'frame of interpretation' exist. Hints of such situations were found among the present data set (e.g., in Nelo's sessions). It seems likely that by narrowing the focus to these (perhaps) extreme situations, and by collecting numerous listener reactions, trends of interpretation could be found. McGregor's suggestion as to discovery methods for the role of prosody and his apparent cynicism as to the outcome would be important to bear in mind. Agreement on interpretation outside the context of the ongoing interaction may never be approached by an after-the-fact analysis. When possible, it would be important to compare the impressions of actual participants to those interpretations developed by analysts later on.

Likewise, it could be possible to narrow the focus to certain genres of interaction (e.g., narratives) searching for common and divergent trends across speakers in the prosodic contributions to framing, moving, and capping a narrative 'story-line.' By concentrating on such talk across community members, however, the analyst might tend to slight those regulative functions of prosody in less monologue-style discourse (e.g., gaining and ceding the floor in multiple speaker interchanges). Such uses might also differ cross-culturally and affect the success of communication (Cf. Penfield).

While a narrowing of focus would seem to be a profitable approach in future studies of prosody-in-context, variation in this aspect of language (as Bolinger has been observing for many years) is along a continuum which cannot be neatly circumscribed by a small set of categories. This observation seems even more apt when considering the role of prosody in cross-cultural communication, or in examining community-wide similarities and differences in the 'contextualization' achieved through prosody as well as other devices.

It seems likely that studies of prosodic contributions to discourse meaning may profit most from a combination of analytic methods, using elicited interpretations in addition to participants' judgements of 'what is happening'.

Like observations of non-verbal communication, much of prosodic variation seems to fall within certain situational limits. The tasks confronting the analyst include not only describing the limits-in-context, but how they contribute to the flow of the interaction, and what it means when they are ignored.

On the other hand, prosodic choices (like lexical ones) may be unpredictable, and these non-formulaic uses constitute a considerable challenge for the speaker of a different language, as well as for the analyst. They are not necessarily "attitude" (Cf. Ladd), but they are interpreted at times as if they were.

At the moment, it seems most feasible to concentrate on the more formulaic uses of prosody, since these may be most unconscious, yet they contribute to presuppositions about the nature of a discourse in crucial ways. They are also likely to stand out if they occur in parallel fashion in a speaker's discourse in either language, as in Capitán's tags. Gumperz and other linguists have recently stated that much more of language use is formulaic than had been previously assumed and that such formulas bear important cross-cultural differences.

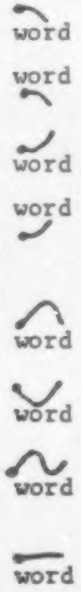
While Capitán's tags may be indeed a plebeian and peripheral instance of such formulas, it seems likely that more complex instances exist which could be discovered through a combination of elicitation and feedback methods.

Certainly, there is more to the contribution of prosody than formulas, but such utterances offer a starting place from which further steps in the investigation can be taken.

Appendix 1: (from Bennett. 1981) Notational symbols

Prosodic Features and Transcription Symbols

1. Tone Group
   - a. Minor Tone Group Boundary: | He took the book| and he threw it
   - b. Major Tone Group Boundary: ‖ I gave it to Bill‖
2. Nuclear Tunes



   - a. Falling: high-fall: word
     - low-fall: word
   - b. Rising: high-rise: word
     - low-rise: word
   - c. Complex:
     - rise-fall: word
     - fall-rise: word
     - rise-fall-rise: word
   - d. Level: word
3. Register Shifts
   - a. Upward register shift: ⌈Then Bob said get out of here
   - b. Downward register shift: ⌊John who isn't coming today
4. Tempo Changes
   - a. Increased tempo: acc. (accelerando
   - b. Decreased tempo: rall. (rallentando)
5. Dynamics
   - a. louder, loud
   - b. softer, soft
6. Stress
   - a. Very high Stress: WORD
   - b. High stress: word
   - c. Low stress: word

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Appendix 2: Transcripts of 4 speakers interviews (English and Spanish)

Transcript of Capitán's tape: Representative
Spanish portion of interview
(Tape B 121 a, lines 73-83)

Duration=40 sec.

The interviewer has asked a general question about conditions on the block and Capitán has responded that things aren't getting any better because people don't cooperate with each other. He is elaborating on this point after some intervening comments by Franco and Nelo.

C: 1: Ud. vive un poquito mejor .5 sec / y ya todo mundo lo quiere. //
2: Ud. le-/ fall.
3: Ud. le da un consejo a un muchacho* .5 sec / y el padre le dice, / * step-down + sustain
4: "No me le de consejo a los muchachos."* // 1 sec. * very low
acc. fall.
5: ¿Te das cuenta cómo es? //
I: 6: ¿Te dicen eso? //
C: 7: ¿Cuánta / uh- / cuánta gente han venido aquí? /
F: 8: (He's right to survive, right?)
C: 9: ¿Cuántos programas han echado por el piso aquí, / viejo? // 1 sec.
I: 10: Hm? Hm? (directed to Franco?)
C: 11: ¿Cuántos programas han echado por el piso aquí? /
12: Programas buenos, viejo. / oiste? //
loud
X: 13: (What is it, life-)
(ramp)
C: 14: Te lo estoy diciendo, / mira el pro- / mira-
15: Yo quisiera que el hermano mío que está en Puerto Rico estuviera aquí. /
16: Porque él es jefe automático de todo el programa completo, federal en Puerto Rico. // 1 sec.
fall.
17: Hm?
loud
18: Pero ése sí sabe, / oiste? // 1 sec.
19: Y te tiene a todo el mundo por allí / con la machete en la mano / ..hm? // loud
20: ¡Él!...Ese es el hermano mío, / jefe completo del programa ese que Ud. tienen. //
loud acc.

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Transcript of Capitán's tape: Representative
English portion of interview
(Tape B122b, lines 2530-2554)

Duration=2 min, 4 sec.

I: 1: What do you consider to be a good life? //

acc.
C: 2: Oh, when you are retired, man. You ( ) work, work. /

rall.
3: You (are) retired, you live long. // 1.5 sec. Knockin on-a wood. //

acc.
4: When you fix | your kids, | you are off, | you know what I mean? //

5: You finish you with your kids, / right? //

I: 6: No.

C: 7: You're finished with your kids already | porque los | kids | están grandes. //

I: 8: Right.

loud
C: 9: They give it to me. | I don't have to give nothing to them. /
rall. soft

10: But I still * lovin' them, | hm? //
*ramp

I: 11: M-hm.

C: 12: I still in my head^{1} sec. | my kids. //

(9 second pause)

13: ¿Qué yo me puedo pedir? * What are you going to ask tomorrow?$^{1.5}$ sec. *ramp

acc.
14: Good life, | work, | 'n' that's all! //

I: 15: So you would say / that for you, / the only thing that you want / for the
rall.
rest of your life

16: is to retire. / to live long. //
rall rall.

C: 17: Be quiet, / nice peaceful, man. ^{5} sec. | soft, rall.

18: After all these years- sixty years / working like a- (cut off)

19: Oh, man / ¿qué tú crees?^{6} // sec.
acc.

20: When you get old / it's different you know. //
acc.

21: You gotta-eh- / whole lot / for you.^{4} // sec.

22: Oh, you are a young kid / you are thirty-two years. | * * single sustained tone
rall.

23: Here I am sixty years already.^{1} // sec.

24: What can I wait? | Live, that's all! | Hm? | I gotta live! //

25: Help the other people, | go see them. | rall.
rall. (soft)

26: Somebody needs some money, | I give it to him, | blah, blah, blah, blah. / Eh? //

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27: Live.|with my wife alone.| My kids. soft 8 sec. ||....

28: |When you get pick up the sixties* 2 sec. |.../when you pick up the sixties,|viejo.|

29: you no have to worry about nothing man,/   * down step sustained

30: you are|old enough to know what everything's going on,|OK?||

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Transcript of Franco's tape: Representative
Spanish portion of interview
(Tape B 28a, lines 1443-1454)

Duration=1 min, 12 sec.

I: 1: ¿Cómo explicaría qué quiere decir ser Puertorriqueño? ||
F: 2: Picaría?
I: 3: ¿Cómo explicaría | | explain | explicaría | qué quiere decir ser puertorriqueño? || (soft)
F: 4: Yeah.
5: Pues, ser portoriqueño es rall. 3 sec. | ...hacer puertorriqueño es | ¿en español? ||
I: 6: Sí. 4 sec.
F: 7: Primero, | no voy a decir que yo soy puertorriqueño, |
8: porque cada puertorriqueño | es un boricua. rall. 1 sec. ||
9: Y si | vamos a hablar de boricua, | vamos a hablar de taín[illegible] sec.
10: si vamos a | explicarlo bien. rall. 1.5 ||
11: Entonces, | siendo puertorriqueño rall. | es (que eres decie) que tú eres de- rall. |
12: de la isla de Puerto Rico. |
13: Entiendes? rall. ||
14: | Un puertorriqueño es rall. | de la familia de boricuas taínos. |
15: | Eso es un puertorriqueño. ||
16: Es en que está en la lucha rall. | aquí en el | barrio,* | en la isla. | * rise-fall sustain
17: | Son puertorriqueños | que somos humanos. ||
18: | Eso es un puertorriqueño, | uno que siempre está con- |
19: | donde nació | y donde están sus rutas rall. 1 sec. | y es un puertorriqueño.
20: | Eso acc. es un puertorriqueño, | uno que estudie rall. | y que-- que suba rall. | y
21: y que | y que acc. mire pa' atrás. 1 sec. ||
22: | Eso es un puertorriqueño, | mujer o | hombre, |
23: | eso es un puertorriqueño. rall. 4 secs. ||
I: 24: M-hm.
F: 25: Te lo (soft) | contesté bien, | o mal? ||
I: 26: No, | está bien. ||
F: 27: O.K.

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Transcript of Franco's tape: Representative
English portion of interview
(Tape B28a, lines 1530-47)

Duration=1 min, 35 sec.

I: 1: What are | what would you say are some Puerto Rican attitudes and beliefs? || 3 sec

F: 2: My attitude | or other Puerto Ricans'? || (loud)

I: 3: Puerto Ricans in general, | yeah. | What would you say would be some
4: Puerto Rican attitudes and beliefs | in general? ||

F: 5: OK, | the majority | of the Puerto Ricans, || uh, 5 secs. | ... (soft) | my opinion? ||

I: 6: Yeah.

F: 7: OK, uh, the majority of Puerto Ricans | rall.
8: have a lot of um 1.5 sec | rall.
9: Yankee in them. | OK? 1 sec. |
10: And uh, 1.5 sec | rall.
11: a lot [illegible]erto Ricans are brainwashed 1 sec. | y' understand? 1 sec. ||
12: And 4 secs. | ... an I don't- | rall.
13: There could be more unity, 2.5 sec rall.
14: but there's a lotta Puerto Ricans | as just | don't put a chain together. ||
15: There's a- |
16: We have a lot of intelligent Puerto Ricans, | acc. louder rall.
17: but 2 sec. | they'll never get nowhere without no unity. ||
18: Y'know, | that's my belief. ||

I: 19: M-hm.

F: 20: Like right now, they'll say that they want a state, | the Puerto Ricans over
there. |
21: The majority, | that's what they say. |
22: For me, | I don't want it to become a state. 1.5 || acc.
23: Like I said before, | I don't want to be- |
24: I don't want no colony from Spain, I don't want no colony | from nowhere! || rall
25: You know what I mean? || acc.
26: I believe that we | could have our own police, | we could have our own
government, |
27: we- we're not dummies! 1.5 sec ||

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(Franco, English transcript continued)

I: 28: M-hm.

F: 20: You know what I mean?
acc.

I: 30: M-hm.

F: 31: We could do the ⌈same thing. | We could have ⌈scientists, |
32: we could have ⌈doctors, | we could have anything, | uh, any other country
33: could have. ||

I: 34: M-hm. 4 secs. . . . All right.

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Transcript of Dominó's tape: Representative
English portion of interview
(Tape B27a, lines 1706-ff)

Duration≈1.5 min.

I: 1: ⌈Is there a division in the Puerto Rican community,/within the Puerto Rican community,/
2: between Black and White Puerto Ricans?||
D: 3: Yeah.
I: 4: Yes,$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$ you ⌈think so?|
D: 5: Yeah, I ⌊think so.|| (creak, low)
I: 6: How would you-|
7: Can you explain what you mean by that.$^{1.5\ \text{sec.}}$||
D: 8: Well, ⌈one time$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$| rall. I recall this particular incident$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$| rall.
9: that$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$| this fellow who is a little$^{3\ \text{secs.}}$| rall.
10: I'd say more Indian-looking,|
11: more brown$^{2.5}$| than me$^{5\ \text{secs.}}$| ah-
12: was courting, this$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$| White Puerto Rican girl.$^{5\ \text{secs.}}$||
13: And| I heard|
14: (now ⌈this is comments$^{1.5\ \text{sec}}$ through the neighborhood)
I: 15: M-hm
D: 16: that$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$| they said$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$| that they didn't want no Black$^{1.5}$| in the family.$^{4\ \text{secs.}}$||
17: I've also heard$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$| that$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$| in the universities$^{1.5\ \text{sec.}}$| in Puerto Rico$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$|
18: in regard to the fraternities$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$|
19: that there is also a color distinction.||
I: 20: M-hm.
D: 21: ⌊Like I said, this is all hearsay,| because I haven't gone there since I came here,|
22: and I came here when I was very small,| so I really don't know.$^{2\ \text{secs.}}$
I: 23: Right
D: 24: ⌈But the first incident that I mentioned, it was-$^{1\ \text{sec.}}$
25: ⌊I could say| there is a definite distinction.$^{3\ \text{secs.}}$||
I: 26: All right.

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Transcript of Dominó's tape: Representative
Spanish portion of interview
(Tape B24a, line 1258-ff)

Duration=1 min, 42 sec.
10 sec.

I: 1: ¿Cómo explicaría qué quiere decir (el) ser puertorriqueños? ||

D: 2: ¿Qué quiere decir ser puertorriqueño? ||

I: 3: M-hm. 7 sec.

D: 4: Eso es dificil pa' decir. 1 sec. | pero... 6 secs. | eso acc. de ser puertorriqueño |

5: que aunque va a decir que uno sea nacido aquí 2.5 secs. | es un orgullo, | you know. ||

I: 6: Yeah. soft (TAPE SIDE ENDS HERE AND TOPIC CONTINUES)

D: 7: Le acc. da orgullo ser puertorriqueño | especialmente rall. | cuando 1 sec. | eh- otras personas rall.

8: de su raza hacen cosas, 2 secs. | ah, | buena(s) que 2 secs. rall.

9: contribuyen a la comunidad. |

10: Hacen contribuciones pa' la comunidad, |

11: para el bienestar de la gente. ||

12: (and) 3 secs. que 3 secs. ... rall. saben su lenguaje, entienden su lenguaje, lo practican | 3 sec.

13: Le enseñan a sus niños los juegos, | cosas así. || Ah... 1 sec.

14: Y realmente, acc. no sé como contestar la pregunta, | porque es | -

15: es un poco dificil. || 1.5 sec.

16: Nunca me - me ha confrontado con una pregunta así. || 1 sec.

17: Es un sentir. || 2 secs.

I: 18: M-hm

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Transcript of Nelo's tape: Representative
English portion of interview
(Tape B22a, lines 1480-6)
Duration=2 min, 11 sec.

I: 1: OK. ⌈Do you think you have to speak Spanish to be Puerto Rican?

N: 2: No.

I: 3: Why? 1.5 sec.

N: 4: Cause of | our complexion.||

5: ⌊You know, rall. soft |you got a lot of Spanish people that look American. 1 sec. |

6: ⌊Then you got a lot of Puerto Ric-uh-

7: Spanish people that | (laughs) I don't care what loud language they speak.| (chuckles)

8: you're Puerto Rican.||

9: ⌊You got it in your face. | ⌊(I don't know).|| 1.5 sec.

10: ⌊They'll know. 2 secs.

I: 11: ⌊So what do you mean? | You think it's -|

12: ⌈so you're saying to be Puerto Rican| you don't need |to speak Spanish?

13: You just have to|⌈look Puerto Rican? |

N: 14: ⌊Well, as far as I'm concerned.| ⌊a lot-

15: the majority of them ⌈look Puerto Rican. 2 secs. ||

I: 16: M-hm.

N: 17: But a lot of them don't ⌈look Puerto Rican.| and

18: they don't have to speak Spanish| so ⌊they'll know they're Puerto Ricans. very low 2 secs. ||

I: 19: [Ah, I don't understand.||

N: 20 [Ah, you got lost, hm?

I: 21: I got lost, yeah.| Say it again. (soft) (laughs)

N: 22: Play it back! (laughs)

I: 23: [Let me have another one. (soft)

N: 24: [No, ⌈you know what I mean, that| they look-

25: and they look Puerto Rican.

26: ⌈You don't even have to ask them their names.

I: 27: M-hm 2 secs.

N: 28: ⌊But very few, | ⌊they gotta- soft

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29: [they have to speak to you Puerto Rican so you know |
30: "Oh, you're Puerto Rican? | soft
31: [Well, I could never tell. | Even your name is English | or Irish." 2 ‖ secs.
32: You [understand now? ‖
I: 33: M-hm.
N: 34: But a lot of us, | just by looking at you, |
35: ["Ese es puertorriqueño. | He's got in his forehead. | Lo tiene escrito. ‖
36: You know, it's like [Puerto Ri- [they know each other. |
37: [Like you know your race. 1.5 ‖
38: [But a lot of them, | you know, |
39: they really gotta | speak to you in Spanish | before you know they're Puerto Ricans. ‖
I: 40: ...[before you know...
41: Well, do you think if they don't look Puerto Rican |
42: and they don't speak Spanish | they could still be Puerto Rican?
N: 43: [No, nah, wait a minute! (Laughs) No, wait! ‖
44: You know, I don't know (   ) | I pick it up. |
45: It's something that you know | that the guy is Puerto Rican. | sec.
46: I mean you could look Puerto Rican | and not be Puerto Rican, |
47: I don't understand that. ‖ (Laughs) (both laugh) 2 sec.
48: You understand?
I: 49: All right, I'm gonna see. | I don't know. | Well, I'll see if I understand. |

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Transcript of Nelo's tape: Representative
Spanish portion of interview

Duration=1 min, 38 sec.

I: 1: [¿Cómo explicaría qué quiere decir ser puertorriqueño? ||
N: 2: Uh..ser puertorriqueño 1.5 | quiere decir que uno nació en Puerto Rico, 2 secs. |
3: que está registrado en Puerto Rico, 2 secs. |
4: que estaba bautizado en Puerto Rico. |
5: [Eso es que quiere decir ser puertorriqueño. || soft
I: 6: Pero yo nací y me crié aquí, |
7: [entonces yo no soy puertorriqueño. ||
N: 8: No | tú [eres un-- 1 sec. | some descent | descent? |
I: 9: Descendant. ||
N: 10: Descende | de Puerto Rican family. 1 sec. |
11: Pero naciste en Nueva York. 1 sec. ||
I: 12: Pues, entonces yo no soy puertorriqueño, |
13: yo soy- ||
N: 14: [Pues, CLARO, | no, no- (loud)
I: 15: ( )
N: 16: Tu papá y tu mamá son puertorriqueños |
I: 17: M-hm.
N: 18: son of des- | descende de mamá y papá puertorriqueño, |
19: pero nacido | en Nueva [York.* || * step up + fall
I: 20: Right. Pero entonces no soy puertorriqueño? ||
N: 21: Pues, [¿por qué no? acc. (laugh) Es la-
I: 22: Porque tú dijiste que una persona puertorriqueña acc., louder
23: es sólamente una persona nacido en Puerto Rico. ||
N: 24: [Tu mamá y tu papá son puertorriqueños. || loud
I: 25: Si ellos nacieron en Puerto Rico. ||
N: 26: Pero no quiere decir que tú no eres puertorriqueño. | Your [nationality loud
27: [es puertorriqueño. ||
I: 28: [Pues entonces | eso es lo que estoy preguntando. |

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I: 29: (cont'd) ¿Cómo es que tú explic-| explicarías | qué quiere decir ser
puertorriqueño?
N: 30: Oh! (loud, rall) Que yo soy loud
31: puertorriqueño | porque mi mamá y mi papá | son puertorriqueños.
I: 32: Ah, pues entonces-
N: 33: Pues yo soy puertorriqueño. ||
I: 34: Entonces- es | por los padres. ||
N: 35: Uh-huh.
36: Right. | your mother and father. ||
I: 37: Y familia. | por los padres y familia. ||
N: 38: No, no. | tu mamá y tu papá. ||
I: 39: Mamá y papá. || (soft)
N: 40: Tu tío puese ser rall. alemán y tu tía puertorriqueña. | step down + level |
41: igual que tu tío puertorriqueño y tu tía alemán. ||
I: 42: M-hm.

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The works cited in this article along with those utilized in the review of literature and the pilot acoustic study appear after Appendices A & B at the end of the report (pp. 335 - 381).

IV. Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis as a field of inquiry spans a tremendous range. It includes a number of sub-fields (see Coulthard 1977), among them the logical analysis of speech acts (Searle 1975, Grice 1975, Warnock 1973); the ethnography of speaking (Basso 1972, Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Hymes 1974, Bauman 1977); interactional and conversational analysis (Spier 1972, Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff 1974, Garvey 1977, Gumperz 1982); non-verbal behavior (Kendon 1972, 1977, Duncan 1974); psychological interaction (Scheflen 1973, Labov and Fanshel 1977); literacy study (Chatman 1969, Hendricks 1973, Grimes 1975, Thompson 1978), and educational interaction (Cazden, John, and Hymes 1972, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Erickson and Schultz 1977, McDermott 1977).

As we explained in the introduction to this report, we have (after considerable struggle) come to see the analysis of discourse as critical to our understanding of social communication. And yet we have been dissatisfied with the approaches pursued thus far in this field. We have sought here to question some of the foundations of this scientific practice and indicate ways in which it must be altered and advanced.

The three papers presented in this section rely heavily upon ethnographic and interpretive approaches in examining the production of meaning relations and social relations in everyday discourse and interaction within the Puerto Rican community of East Harlem. In general, they explore ways of understanding language use as communicative practice evolved in response to changing social, political, and economic conditions.

The first paper critiques traditional research practices and utilizes a preliminary analysis of a tape-recorded casual conversation between two male community residents to illustrate some directions for social and linguistic theory that takes into account consciousness and ideology, and their relation to cultural, political, and economic formation. In essence, it sets the theoretical tone for the papers that follow.

The second paper takes up some of these issues in the analysis of two taped narratives produced by a young Puerto Rican mother in interaction with the fieldworker. The narratives are shown to be one means by which speakers reveal their social ideology and perception of self through their topic selection and performance.

The third paper elaborates further upon both the theoretical and methodological contributions of the first two and makes the necessary connections to human practice and social struggle. It reanalyzes the taped interaction presented in the first paper in order to focus upon the way in which the differing discourse behaviors of the two men reflect their differential experiences and responses to changing life circumstances. This variability in oral styles is then linked to issues of literacy, the demands of formal schooling, social values, and power relations.

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THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE STUDY OF DISCOURSE PRACTICES, CULTURAL FORMATIONS, CONSCIOUSNESS, AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Adrian Bennett and Pedro Pedraza, Jr.

1.0 Introduction: Social sciences as critique

We begin with certain understandings of the nature of modern societies and of desirable goals for research: (1) that there is an unequal distribution of power and knowledge in particular societies, such as that found in the U.S. today; (2) that this unequal distribution is detrimental to the society as a whole because it reproduces basic contradictions that not only work against the freedom and interests of powerless groups, but produce alienation at all levels of society; and (3) that basic research needs to be defined in relation to what it can contribute to the rectification of such conditions. In this respect, our concern as regards the development of an effective social science practice, including in particular the study of human discourse and language use, is summed up in an unpublished paper by Mary Pratt (1982):

> Intellectual work under such objectives gives special priority to identifying the workings of oppression in the specifics of social, material, and cultural life, identifying actual and potential points of resistance, and seeking ways of making these points of resistance politically productive so that they result in progressive change and transformation.

This view of social science is opposed to the perspective that the first goal of social science is to provide a reflection of the social world which stands in a neutral position with respect to that world. In that view, description and explanation are separate research domains, and one fundamental principle for judging the validity of descriptions and explanations is that the investigator must maintain a neutral, unbiased stance toward those aspects of the social world to be described and explained. A major strategy for achieving that neutrality is to separate the social world into levels or domains which have their own integrity and can therefore be studied separately from one another.

Within such an approach, a primary methodological concern is the attainment of verisimilitude, i.e. those descriptions and explanations which are most faithful to members' own accounts and behaviors are considered most adequate. Evaluation of social phenomena should reflect members' evaluations, which may be described and compared but not critiqued by the investigator, who must maintain neutrality in order to retain status as a scientist.

A considerable sophistication in methods of investigation and analysis has been achieved in certain areas of anthropology and sociolinguistics, particularly on the level of detailed studies of face-to-face interaction and oral and written texts. In many cases, the methodological sophistication cannot be considered merely the result of ingenious uses of new technologies, but itself reflects a considerable advance in theoretical understanding of how members constitute themselves as participants in social activity.

However, these methods have not been successfully applied to the study of larger social domains, such as the study of the institutions, classes, and other sectors of society whose interactions are of crucial importance for understanding how current inequalities in the distribution of knowledge and power are reproduced by members themselves. Studies of large-scale phenomena--such as economic forces, migration patterns, political developments, changes in employment and education patterns, and public policy--may themselves be faulted for failing to show how these phenomena are reproduced and how they may be related to the actions and experiences of individuals. Large-scale studies tend to produce an impression that social forms and social change are determined by impersonal forces beyond the control of individuals, as if decisions, conflicts, confrontations, changes, and policies were not actually produced by humans themselves.

This impression seems corroborated by micro-studies of interaction which deal primarily with personal relations between individuals, no one of which has much control over large-scale social processes. Whereas macro studies tend to take human agency entirely for granted, micro studies of interaction restrict the study of agency to a description of the communicative choices made by individuals to construct particular social situations. The array of communicative choices is taken for granted and treated as a more or less neutral phenomenon, or rather as one which is entirely relative to given local situations. More importantly, the continued division of these so-called levels of analysis produces a social science which is not able to realize its potential for contributing to meaningful and progressive social change.

The resolution of the dilemma will require a critical analysis of the historical development of academic research. Such a critique would frame the study of evolving paradigms, models, and theories within given fields. This would take place within the context of the developing relations between academic institutions and other sectors of society which provide both the funding and the audience for the research and teaching conducted by those institutions. It is not our purpose to provide such an analysis here. However, we do suggest that it would need to be framed within the context of a critique of the distribution of power and knowledge within the total society itself. Essential to such an investigation would be a critical questioning of the neutral positioning of the social scientists. We suggest that, in fact, the failure to examine this positioning constitutes a major obstacle to providing a unified analysis of macro and micro levels of social phenomena.

An immediate implication of this view is that when contradictions in the social world are encountered in the course of an investigation, their resolution is not merely an intellectual problem to be solved on the level of scientific theory, but is also a practical matter to be resolved by engaging in practical action. Another way of putting this is to say that the resolution is not merely a theoretical issue but a practical one requiring the social scientist to acknowledge his or her participation in that social world and to examine critically the implications of that participation.

Looking at social science in this way places the scientist in an active and possibly vulnerable role with respect to the rest of the social world. It is essential that both theory and methods be carefully articulated so that their presuppositions and implications can be made available for critical and open discussion, not only between researchers, but between researchers and the subjects of their research as well. In order to open up such a discussion, it is imperative that researchers begin to articulate the relations between their ontological, epistemological, and methodological viewpoints within a framework that begins by questioning the ideological foundations of researchers' and subjects' positioning within society.

To indicate some of the issues we feel need to be discussed, we will consider each of these three areas briefly. Following this discussion, we will present a segment of taped interaction, suggesting the kinds of questions our own theoretical and methodological views might lead us to ask.

2.0 The relations between ontology, epistemology, methodology.

2.1. Ontology

Ontology does not, in our view, only entail the study of being or beings, but also raises questions about how what is comes to be. We would also suggest that social reality is fundamental and primary for humans in that it forms the ultimate horizon within which all knowledge and understanding of the nature of reality is produced. Therefore, an ontology of social relations is logically prior to all other ontologies, and is our chief concern here.

A social ontology must give an account of the basic entities and structures of social existence, such as persons and institutions. It should also provide a basis for examining and interpreting social processes, social interaction and historical development. Any such ontological perspective will have strong implications for our views of knowledge and for our methods, as social scientists, for producing knowledge.

Ontology is itself a historical production. That is, different ontologies may be appropriate or possible for different historical situations. Our view is that ontology must begin with an account of human beings as agents who produce their own conditions through cooperation and/or conflict. For example, prevailing views about the relations between nature, person, and social group are different in industrial urban societies and in various agrarian societies, as are (it should be noted) the relations between laborers, their work, and the products of their work. Different ontologies, appropriate to different social conditions, provide quite different frameworks for the categorization, interpretation, and explanation of events, as well as for developing strategies and practices for social change.

In order to construct an ontology that can provide the basis for a critical social science appropriate to current historical conditions, five themes are of particular interest. These are:

(1) consciousness
(2) the human subject and human agency
(3) the relations between cultural and ideological formations
(4) social, political, and economic formations
(5) language and other communicative systems.

Each of these themes can be thought of as providing fields for focussing our concerns and framing questions that can help us develop a critique of our social understandings by problematizing them.

For example, we agree with phenomenologists and ordinary language philosophers (cf. Ricoeur, Gademer, Wittgenstein) that consciousness consists of intentionalities that are related to each other in a variety of ways. We also agree with a further suggestion that these philosophers usually make, which is that consciousness is grounded in social relations. They have developed this idea particularly in showing the implications it has for our conceptions of meaning and language. If consciousness is constituted through language and other symbol systems, then the analysis of language ought to give basic insight into the nature of consciousness and knowledge.

Paulo Freire, in an essay called "Extension or Communication" makes all these points in the following statement:

> The thinking subject cannot think alone. In the act of thinking about the object, she/he cannot think without the co-participation of another subject. There is no longer an "I think," but "we think." It is the "we think which establishes the "I think" and not the contrary. This co-participation of the subjects in the act of thinking is communication. (p. 137)

Freire agrees with the phenomenologists up to this point, but he moves beyond them in the rest of his essay by arguing for a much larger perspective that would change our notion of context by expanding our concern with context to a concern with the social totality (i.e. the material conditions, economics, history, social relations, etc.). Basic questions need to be asked and must inform whatever research practices we can develop. Those questions include, for example,

(1) What is the nature of that social totality, of the relations within it?

(2) What moves that totality toward particular futures?

(3) How did the social totality come to be as we find it today?

Both ordinary language philosophers and phenomelogists recognized that their arguments about language and mind presupposed beings capable of agency, that is, of constituting their own relations. Three very important questions included in our understanding of agency, are:

(1) What are the conditions and constraints within which agents negotiate and enact choices?

(2) How were these conditions produced, and how are they reproduced today?

(3) What is our understanding of our social conditions, how is that understanding produced, and how can we improve that understanding?

Where relations of unequal power make up a significant part of the social totality, answers to these questions become problematic, at least within the context of either the empiricist bent of the ordinary language philosophers, or the idealist leanings of the phenomenologists. In either case, the validation of knowledge has been a stumbling block, whether the final reference points are to be found in "language games" and "forms of life," or in what phenomenologists call "world." In both cases, the social totality constitutes the basis for knowledge. Yet, neither ordinary language philosophers nor pheonomenologists have attempted to examine the social world as a totality historically produced by human beings through their interactions. Such interactions utilize symbolic systems which are themselves created by all the human agents who use those systems.

Symbolic systems, such as language, make available to those who use them, certain relations of meaning and certain social relations. Where social relations involved relations of domination and subordination--inequalities of power--the available discourse forms are likely to have been penetrated by, or constituted around, contradictions whose full nature is difficult to comprehend. These contradictions are hard to uncover because our discourse practices themselves conceal those contradictions and the relations between various kinds of contradictions. Put simply, subjected peoples, like anyone else, may assume values and beliefs which run counter to their best interests. The constraints on their understanding and practices will be different than those in the dominating group, as well as those with a broader understanding of history and society.

2.2. Epistemology

These ontological questions and concerns already constitute a concern with epistemology. By arguing that in a discussion of consciousness, human agency must be placed in the context of an understanding of the social whole, we have already implied a view of the nature of culture, ideology, and language. This view frames our epistemology.

Our argument presupposes an epistemology in which knowledge is viewed as a social production, carried on by utilizing available discourse forms or modifying these to suit particular purposes. We view the validation of knowledge as a social practice, not simply based on the verification of observation through controlled measurement of 'perceptions.' This latter view, the view of classical empiricism, presupposes that there can be a level of awareness called "perception" that is not a social production. It also presupposes that knowledge is valid to the extent that it can be judged neutral to human interests. Our view is empirical as well, but we believe that perceptual phenomena are not neutral and cannot provide the basis for a value-free social science. Rather, knowledge can be validated only through practice and across historical time (a point which at least one phenomenologist, i.e. Paul Ricoeur, has also argued).

This means that we do not view knowledge as 'merely' relative to the knower's situation, but rather as historically produced by the social interaction of human agents. We would subscribe, then, to Michel Foucault's view that academic disciplines constitute discourses with particular possibilities for developing knowledge, possibilities constrained by relations of power within the social whole. Knowledge in social science research is produced within the framework of certain allowable forms of discourse. These forms are themselves connected to relations of power within the social totality. This implies that research methodology includes participation in the construction of certain forms of discourse, involving certain possibilities for producing meanings and social relations.

2.3. Methodology

It is difficult to define discourse, but we believe any definition should include an understanding of symbolic systems, not only in terms of structures, but in terms of the reciprocal constitution of relations of meaning and social relations. Discourse, defined as particular kinds of human interaction, is itself sustained by the process of constituting meanings and social relations. Culture needs to be understood as historically produced through discourse within the context of specific social conditions. Where these conditions put people in positions of contradiction preventing the full development of individual abilities and cultural resources of the community and therefore wasting human resources, a primary issue is to find ways to gain insight into the formation of consciousness around those contradictions.

Specifically, we are interested in what Paul Willis (author of Learning to Labour) calls "cultural penetrations" and "limitations." We want to gain insight into the extent to which members are able to penetrate to the foundations of their own social conditions, and the extent to which there are limits on the development of such an understanding. Discourse analysis can play a role in producing this understanding only if our theory of knowledge is grounded in an analysis of society. Meanings and social relations are reaffirmed, reproduced, undermined, transformed through discourse. Those processes also affect the forms of discourse, though not necessarily in direct and simple ways that can be captured by saying meanings and social relations "cause" discourse to take certain forms. It would be fair to say that forms of discourse may also constrain the production of meanings of social relations in specific ways, about which we know very little as yet.

Any scientific epistemology must be continually subject to critical investigation. We suggest that methodologies must be questioned where knowledge is produced by researchers only in concert with other researchers and professionals. An important array of interests represented by the communities from which subjects for study are drawn needs to be incorporated into the research from the beginning. This implies that "subjects" of study cannot be constituted as such by researchers' interests alone, and that these interests need to be made available for critical discussion. We especially see the necessity of a discussion of how interests are reflected in the ontological, epistemological, and methodological foundations of a research project. Knowledge must be produced in collaboration with subjects. It is of particular importance to us that certain traditionally excluded interests be given a voice in the processes of knowledge production in our society. Discourse analysis can take this an immediate goal.

Discourse can be seen as a field for the investigation of subjects' understanding of their own social and historical conditions, as well as the limits of that understanding. This is a primary goal of the analysis that will be presented here. Our goal necessitates looking at the production of meaning relations and social relations together. To do this, we must avoid arbitrary divisions between 'micro' and 'macro' contexts, since our concern is to reveal both the penetration into everyday life of societal processes and subjects' response to those conditions. It is out of the relations between persons, meanings and the social whole, as produced by human agents, that structures emerge. As Barnett and Silverman in their book Ideology and Everyday Life say, "understanding structural tendencies requires that we include meaning both in symbolic form and in social action, in the same analytic universe" (p.24)

While we cannot claim to have worked out the details of a methodology that would facilitate the accomplishment of this goal, we can give in the next section an example of what we would want to say about a given discourse, one that happens to involve face-to-face interaction, and of the questions we would want to raise. In our discussion, we will first provide a description of the local context and give some indications of the participants' social positions. Following that we will give a detailed interpretation of the segment attempting in certain sections to show relations between social actions, meanings and social history. We will conclude our analysis with a discussion of certain structural 'tendencies' and the kinds of questions about structure our social ontology permits us to raise.

3.0 An analysis of discourse in relation to cultural formation and consciousness.

3.1 Background

The two speakers in the exchange (see transcript at end article) have been known to the fieldworker for over five years (more than two at the time of the taping). They have participated in a number of different interactions with the fieldworker. In some (e.g. interviews), the investigator defined the setting and interactional relationships, while on other occasions (like the following), the subjects or other factors defined the social situation.

The interaction takes place on the stoop of a building, a public space, and the mood is informal and egalitarian. One participant is Pedro (P), the investigator. The other subjects, Eduardo (E) and Cano (C), are long-time residents of our sample neighborhood/community and share a common history. Both men migrated to New York from the same town in Puerto Rico, Cano as a young adolescent and Eduardo as a young child. They are about two years apart in age and have known each other for about 15 years. At one point, they had even lived together.

However, while they share a great deal, they also differ in some significant ways. Eduardo is dark-skinned, was married to a Black woman, went up to the twelfth grade in high school, and is fully bilingual. He is employed as a hospital technician. Cano, on the other hand, spent only a short time in the school system in New York and never made it to high school. He is Spanish dominant, light-skinned, previously married to a Puerto Rican woman, and unemployed.

3.2 Thematic Progression

To begin with, we will provide a brief characterization of the thematic progression of this segment of talk.

Thematic progression involves agents taking up particular positions in interaction with respect to one another and to social phenomena such as values and interests, ideologies, institutional arrangements, and distribution of power and knowledge. "Taking up positions" in this context is another way of saying that people produce particular relations through their interactions. Certain kinds of social relations imply particular possibilities for developing meaning relations. But meaning relations have in any given stretch of discourse time, certain implications for social relations. Coherence may be viewed as a function of both together, and so-called structural properties which emerge in the analysis can be seen not only as a product of the participants, but also a reflection of the ontological assumptions of our analysis.

In this segment of interaction, there is considerable negotiation between participants over particular directions to be taken in the development of topics, while certain basic features of interpersonal relations which have already been worked out--at least between Eduardo & Cano--are held more or less constant. For example, they do not question the relationship of equality and comradeship in which they share certain basic values and interests, despite other social and personal differences. What is more directly at issue for Eduardo and Cano is a negotiation of specific directions for the development of topics. There is a tension between them on this level that moves topic development in somewhat opposing directions.

For us as analysts, understanding how this tension is produced and the strategies participants develop to deal with it has important implications for our interpretation of the cultural and ideological foundations of the participants' consciousness. This consciousness as produced here is both a reflection of and a reflection on the social and historical situation in which the participants find themselves.

The positions they take up here can be thought of in terms of relations to a system of value in modern industrial societies where the value of all human labor is determined by its contribution to the taking and accumulation of profits. In this system, human productive skills, goals, and humans themselves can be defined as commodities which can be exchanged for each other. This system is implied in the exchange between Pedro and Eduardo in turns 1-3, and some aspects are drawn closer to the foreground by Cano in turns 5 and 8.

Other aspects are a product of our social theory. Part of the process of interpretation involves making connections between our social ontology and the participants' understanding of their social conditions and of their part in reproducing or changing these conditions. The interface of our and our participant's social theories cannot be directly explicated here, but we hope some aspects will become more evident in the detailed analysis of turns 1-8 to follow. It is important to note here that Eduardo focuses on his personal role in the commodity system, while Cano widens the topic focus to include an aspect of the commodity system that can be more directly connected to the social totality.

There is tension throughout the segment between Eduardo's personal view and Cano's more comprehensive view of this totality. In turns 14-30, the direction of development is personal. In turns 31-37, Pedro makes a bid for widening the focus again, by asking whether Cano is worth anything. Tension mounts in turns 31-41 at which point Cano returns to the wider focus. But this return differs from that in turns 5 and 8, where Cano focuses on the value of singing as commodity. By contrast, in turns 41-49 Cano focuses on himself as a commodity which has no market value. The theme retains a wide focus, but is now personalized. This shift throws a more critical light on the commodity system, because all participants know about Cano's peripheral position within this system as a worker with few valued skills. He had in fact been out of work for more than a year at the time of taping.

The development of the commodity theme thus moves toward a more critical view of the commodity-exchange system, where

Cano portrays himself as having no value within the system. The tension between Eduardo and Cano in terms of personal and more abstract perspectives on this system is in a sense 'resolved' for the moment by integrating the two together and thereby making a statement. But it would be unwise to interpret this outcome as a sign that Cano's social theory is the same as ours as analysts.

We view that system as created by human agents through their interactions over a fairly long span of historical time. There is evidence in the segment here that Cano may not see the social totality in the same way. This evidence can be found in another thematic tension in Cano's own discourse. Whenever he moves toward a critical comprehension of the social totality, he does not develop the implications we just mentioned of our own social theory. Rather, he repeatedly returns to what we believe is an agrarian naturalism. This can be seen in turns 9 and 49.

In turn 49, he says at the end "siempre vivo como el moriviví" That is, I always live like the moriviví plant which seems to collapse or 'die' whenever touched, and then later seems to revive itself. We suspect that this move asserts Cano's individual resilience in the face of the commodity system, which devalues him, and that this resilience is grounded on a naturalism which identifies both individual and social whole as part of a larger totality which is the natural world. We also suspect that this naturalism is different from that developed in 19th century European thinking which views the human as a separate and possibly alien being in the natural world.

3.3 Discourse structure and culture

It is fairly typical of Cano that he frequently draws here and elsewhere up on the cultural symbols of Puerto Rican agrarian society, such as his use of agricultural metaphors to convey or even prove certain assertions. Eduardo, by contrast, draws less up on agrarian symbols, for he has in his repertoire some discourse skills more closely associated with education in the urban U.S., such as relying on a formal consistency between the truths of assertions in an argument, a principle he often holds Cano accountable to.

The dialectical notion of humans' relation to nature suggests that other features of Cano's discourse may reflect and help reproduce that dialectical view. For example, he frequently casts assertions in two-part form, where alternatives are offered, on essentially the same truth is stated in opposing ways, such as turns 5-8 9, 11, and 13.

This brings us to the second part of our analysis, a more detailed interpretation of the development of relations of meaning and social relations as producing certain consistencies on which inferences can be based. The drawing out and developing of these inferences in turn provides the basis for continued construction of other relations. Our discussion here will focus on turns 1-8.

The exchange between Pedro and Eduardo in turns 1-3 establishes a 'pay-for-singing' theme. Eduardo's refusal of Pedro's request that he sing some more is justified by pointing out that no one pays him to sing. This move only makes sense in a world where pay implies a contractual obligation to produce. Presupposed is a commodity system where singing can be evaluated in terms of money. That is, mutual knowledge of some such system is presupposed by Eduardo's strategy of justifying his refusal by making the joke of turn 3. Note, however, that this presupposition is not directly attended to in that turn, since Eduardo maintains focus on himself as singer rather than on the commodity system.

Cano's turns 5 and 8 maintain a 'broma vera' tone in which serious truths are asserted in joking fashion. His maintenance of this tone presumes and reaffirms the relationship of equality and friendship. The maintenance of the social relationship provides in a sense a basis for Cano's widening of thematic focus. He makes a two-part statement that:

> "El que no sabe cantar, canta por cantar y
> los que saben, le tienen que pagar."
>
> (Whoever doesn't know how to sing, sings just to sing
> and those who know how, you have to pay.)

This further generalizes the distantly implied commodity-exchange theme of turns 1-3 by focussing not on individual persons, but on a general feature of modern societies where singing is evaluated in terms of payment. Cano accomplishes this thematic development by making explicit reference to who, in general, gets paid and who does not. He divides all singers into those who get paid and those who do not. But in addition he asserts that payment entails ability, while non-payment implies lack of ability. He states this as a given condition in our society. Cano gives no indication here that this condition is socially produced, that it can be generalized even further, or that it can be changed. Rather in turn 9, he resorts back to a concern with birth and death, natural phenomena experienced by all humans, outside of or independently of the exchange of commodities for money.

Note, however, that Cano has nevertheless expanded the theme over Pedro's selection of a new theme in turn 4 (which is not followed up at all), and Eduardo's continuation of the personal note in turn 6, which is in fact developed after turn 9. A tension is thus set up between Cano's and Eduardo's intended development of themes. We cannot pursue this development further here. We have already shown how this tension is in a sense momentarily resolved by Cano's reference to the morivivi plant.

3.4 Discourse structure and consciousness

The thematic development of turns 1-9 implies the importance for Cano of the more comprehensive focus on themes. An interesting question raised by this analysis is why Cano reverts to agrarian symbols and values rather than expand his 'critique' further. Do the form and tone of the exchange--such as the stress on jokes, irony, humor--constrain such a development? We might answer this question in the affirmative, by saying that discourse structure does in fact constrain participants' development of themes. Structures are, after all, not simply the inventions of individuals in the moment, but outcomes that are socially and historically produced. At the same time, however, such structures imply the agency of those who produce and reproduce them, including the participants here. Therefore, our question is really a question about Cano's (as well as Eduardo's and Pedro's) consciousness. That is, to what extent do they understand the totality of the social condtiions in which they find themselves, and what constrains or facilitates the development of that consciousness? We can only suggest here that the question cannot be answered in purely structural terms, but must take into account human agency as well as the interests of human agents, and the conflicts, if any, between these.

One implication of our analysis for our interest in Puerto Rican culture and society is that we need to take as problematic our understanding of how traditional agrarian culture and interests and capitalist culture and interests act as forces in the ideology and consciousness of Puerto Ricans. In what ways do these interests combine to produce the variation we can see in the segment of interaction discussed within and between individuals? Is Cano's use of resources from agrarian culture to cope with his devalued position in capitalist society unique or is it a manifestation of certain means or strategies of resistance available to other Peurto Ricans and to other indigenous Third World peoples in the United States? And to what extent can these strategies be seen as resistance? To what extent do they, if they do, also help reproduce the system to which resistance is being offered?

We need not stress here that these kinds of questions are not usually posed by discourse analysts. They cannot be answered where 'micro' and 'macro' levels of analysis are first separated out, which is why we have organized our interactional analysis around both what are usually considered micro and macro questions, and attempted to look at both together.

3.5 Discourse analysis and social change

The most difficult problem that emerges for a committed critical social science is the issue of how to serve the interests of the subject community. This assumes first a willingness to do so and second, a knowlege of what those interests are in fact. Discerning the interests of a community is not an obvious matter. It is problematical for two reasons:1)interests vary and conflict both within a community and with respect to other communities, and 2) these interests are not static but change and develop over time. Therefore, resolving the interests of a community is a complex matter.

What needs to be highlighted here is that any conceptualization of 'community' will to a large extent either explicitly or implicitly determine how those interests are viewed during the process of investigaion itself, rather than afterwards. The concept 'community' is not a neutral category to be taken for granted. Like many other social science concepts,it is grounded in our everyday language practices and therefore ideologically based and bound. While this is an unavoidable dilemma, in our view, it is not an unresolvable one.

Following our pre-suppositions, the task is one of demarcating an entity category, or unit of analysis, in a manner guided by social theory and practice that allows one to study the particular phenomena in relation to a larger complex totality.

In this particular case, El Barrio or East Harlem fits well as a bounded entity for study on cultural, geographic, socio-economic, and historical grounds. In so far as it consists of continuous working-class neighborhoods of Puerto Rican immigrants and their descendants, this long-standing home of a "disadvantaged" national minority serves well as an entity with a social identity. Conceptually it is satisfactory as a unit of analysis.

There is no need here to trot out once again the dismal social statistics to prove the "underprivileged" status of the population or the community's marginal position in society (made even more pointed by its physical location adjacent to the fashionable "East Side" of Manhattan, one of the richests communities of the United States). The issue is what can be done to change things and more specifically how the analysis of discourse fits into such an endeavor.

The question clearly raises political issues and the task of historically reconstructing the emergence, development, and current placement of the community within U.S. society. Understanding and defining a community in terms of its relationships to a colony, city, and nation, however, is not all that is needed to develope a strategy aimed at social change. Social change requires action by human agents. It is not our purpose here to develop a political program, but to point out that part of the task of facilitating change from the bottom up is not only a pedagogical one of imparting knowledge of a socio-historical nature, but of utilizing it in the work of organizing human agents.

The knowledge that can be gained from discourse analysis includes how wider socio-economic and historical forces have formed and have been transformed by individuals through their culture and ideology. Everyday life, as it is perceived and understood, is the essence of consciousness, and the community with all its contradictions and variation can only respond in its interests from this base. Those who would work with the community to develop those interests have to begin from this reality or face frustration, misunderstanding, and failure.

This approach assumes a practice with the subject community such that definitions of problems are an open process, not artificially closed off, and relations between investigator and subjects mutually constituted, not authoritatively based. Therefore, as important to analysis as theory, is the knowledge of how members of the community understand their interests and activities. The combination of these two perspectives, analyst and member, should coalesce in a new understanding that has implications for plans of action aimed at social change. These understandings can be validated and modified through the strategies and experiences of actual agents of change with whom cooperative relationships must be established.

All this implies a change in the traditional position of researcher from one of neutral observer, or expert, to co-

conspirator, if you will. It is not a comfortable position for anyone to be in, much less an academician for whom it would seem unusual, or untraditional, if not plain unacceptable. We are clearly challenging here the norm of non-involvement (at least with the powerless) which has long played a role in the way social science is practiced. However, it we are to take the implications of our discussion seriously, we have to face the reality that it is we (like any other human actor in a particular setting) who create and maintain this norm. It is only through alternative modes of behavior that the norm will be altered, i.e. through conscious effort.

To take this example of discourse, for instance, one can point to various historical processes that have differently affected these men's lives--the industrialization process in Puerto Rico, migration from the island at different points in a lifetime, schooling experience, and employment experience. The difference in their approach to their own self-worth reflects variation in consciousness that has political relevance. Beyond the issue of whether resistance to or compliance with a commodity ideology is potentially more amenable to moblization for change, there remains the problem that both men have to be approached, i.e. organized. It is not as if anyone can be excluded from community mobilization because of not living up to some revolutionary criteria. Even the modest goal of success in electoral politics has to confront the issue of consciousness in order to garner meaningful participation.

While both Cano and Eduardo, like most people in East Harlem, are cynical of the political system and politicians in general, Cano is completely alienated from the political process (perhaps part of his resistance), and Eduardo views it as a horse race in which the objective is to pick the winner and hope to reap some reward. They are, therefore, moved by different types of argument which are parallel or similar to their methods of analyzing other social relationships.

A serious political movement will have to diversify its tactics if it is to succeed in organizing such diverse forms of consciousness and discourse. Discourse analysis of ethnographic data can contribute to such an endeavor.

4.0 Implications for a new method--Toward a new social science practice

The first step toward a new social science practice should be a critical appraisal of the ways in which our thinking and discussion of issues, both theoretical and concrete, are being constrained. Issues such as the relation of our research findings to the problems of the community need to be discussed and evaluated. This is not necessarily a call for "relevant" or "applied" research _per se_, but for an assessment of the connection of our studies to the struggle for equality and justice in this society.

What assumptions are being made by the type of questions we are addressing? What is the historical evolution of the concepts we utilize and how do they positions us _vis-a-vis_ the community? Do we know the idological foundations of our theoretical approaches, and can we defend them? As an example of what we mean, one need only look at how most social science research treats Puerto Rican culture as a homogeneous whole without variation, contradictions, and conflicts. This is a serious handicap for any teacher in East Harlem who has to face 40 children every day with the idea that they have no significant differences that have to be considered for instructional purposes.

Among other things,such an effort means engaging persons in debate who come with different outlooks, agendas, practices, and connections to social policy but who share the same goals of equality and justice. However, in order for meaningful dialogue to occur, trusting relationships have to exist between the various participants in the discussion as well as a sense of committment to purposeful activity aimed at social change. Social scientists have to work as an integral part of the investigative process, both individually and collectively, at developing these relationships and commitments.

This presumes that researchers have, themselves, engaged in dialogues about the shortcomings of social science with respect to the goals of equality and justice, and are in fact organized to function as a collective in collaboration with other organizations. This is definitely not the case.

One obstacle to developing such practices are the academic institutions in which investigators reside and the professional associations which are their appendages. Besides creating alternatives to these institutions and professional organizations, as a way of surpassing any constraints or limitations, there is the possiblity of attempting to transform them.

This last strategy has some advantages in spite of the overwhelming odds against any fundamental transformation without basic societal changes. Perhaps without a new social order the most that can be expected is non-collaboration with the powers that be (i.e. resistance) and active participation in movements for change.

However, since it remains true that researchers are to be found mainly within academic or related institutions and that, at an ideological level, these institutions share an advantageous position with respect to other societal sources of understanding, some effort aimed at their utilization should be attempted.

There is great need in this society for the legitimation of interests not represented in the public discourse around social policy. This is particularly true for the working class and the ethnic language minority groups within this social classs. The discourse of social scientists must first reflect this preoccupation if we are to play a role in the development of such a shift in social policy debate. Again, this requires some critical reflection on our research plans, questions, and methods. We do not think that this will result in historians sending out questionnaires, ethnographers producing census reports, or demographers observing street corners, but rather each will contribute to a collectively planned and sponsored research program.

This reflective, critical, and creative effort grounded in the real setting, situation, and interests of members of our communities is not a self-sacrificing endeavor. There are advantages for all if we can overcome traditional roles, divisions, and narrow self-interest.

Outside support can be effective in resisting interests within academic antithetical to the communities we represent (particularly public institutions). In addition, collective involvement with communities and movements struggling for social change can offset the individualistic alienating pressures of academia. In this view, therefore, those outside of academia have as much to offer in these collective collaborative relationships, in terms of our intellectual and organizational needs, as we have to offer them.

On a less abstract level, research with and for communities rather than on them (no matter how well-intentioned) should be undertaken with the goal of resolving concrete conflicts, difficulties, or conditions. The task of the researcher, being more than a collector of information and opinions or expert with ready-made solutions, is to utilize perspectives of history and wider social forces to extend participants' understanding based on their interests and needs.

This is not unproblematic, as mentioned earlier in this essay, since the interests of a community can be variously interpreted. Even given similar intentions, there is plenty of room for differences of opinion. In many cases, only the power of persuasion, actual experience, and negotiation will determine the right course of action. In other words, we are limited in our practice and can only outline in general terms what needs to be done. We cannot offer any recipes. In any event, it should be kept in mind that any particular occasion will have its idiosyncratic developments that always have to be considered. This reality makes any detailed suggestion both ingenuous and hazardous.

In sum, given the epistemological and ontological discussion earlier, the dichotomization of subject-object found in most academic social research is not tenable and contrary to our purposes. There are no "objective" positions from which analysis can be conducted. The issue of power must be integrated into our studies and dealt with in our social relationships. Though multi-disciplinary studies are called for, they have to be embedded in, not isolated from, processes of social change if we want them to be effective. New ideological and scientific grounds useful for the constitution of a new social order can be developed if we change the investigative process by first re-construing the research community.

Transcript
(translation provided on pp. 318-319)

1. E: (singing) En el juego de la vida...you know...all that shit. /4 secs./

2. P: Canta más,canta más [(   )]

3. E: [No,ya, ya]es suficiente. A mi no me pagan por cantar. /3 secs./

4. P: Mira, están (sacando) [(   ])

5. C: [El que no]sabe cantar, [canta por cantar

6. E: [(y tú) (   )]tiene la boca.

7. ?: [cielito lindo]

8. C: [Y los que saben, les tienen]que pagar /laughter, 5 secs./

9. C: Oyeme...la verdad es como uno no paga nada por nacer, por morir na (va) a pagar nada. /3 secs./

10. E: Paga más, paga más. /2 secs./

11. C: [Prefiero] que coman [los]pesces,

12. E: [(   )] [(   )]

13. C: no que me coman los guzanos

14. E: Te tienes que comprar...tienes que comprarte este una caja /2 secs./

15. C: ¿Quién, quién tiene que comprar (   )

16. E: Tienes que comprar [un pedazo de terreno.]

17. C: [(después) que me]muera, voy a tener que comprarme una caja?

18. E: No, tú no.

19. C: Oh.

20. E: [(tú sabes)]

21. C: [Después que] yo me muero, olvídese que eh me metan
mano (laughs) /2 secs./

22. E:¿Porqué tú no do-, donas tu, tus eh órganos a la
ciencia [como el corazón (y) los riñones?]

23. C: [Porque ( ) porque no ha encontrado,]
no he encontrado la direccion...para el sitio.

24. E: Yo te la busco si quieres, si eso es lo que tú
quieres hacer. /3 secs./

25. C: Yo, yo lo entrego [(para)]

26. E: [los ojos]

27. C: lo que sea (hay) el cuerpo entero...yo dejo el cuerpo
entero.

28. E: Yeah, uh...

29. C: [Cinco pies] y tres pulgadas..[.más nada.]

30. E: [si en realidad] [si en realidad,] tú te
sientes así, debes, te, te interesaría buscar la...
la dirección...para que esto,hago eso si
[eso es tu deseo] real.

31. P: [y, y,...y eso..] y esos cinco pies tres pulgadas,
¿cuánto tú crees vales. /3 secs./

32. E: (tres) P: (laughs)

33. C: A mi...a mi que,no a mi que no valga nada. La
cuestión es después que me muera me vuelvan a vivir.
/2 secs./

34. C: [Y]

35. E: [Vives] en los ojos,en los ojos de otra persona,en
un riñon..el corazón.

36. C: Pero

37. P: Pero ¿cuánto de, de este tipo ( ) vale la pena?

38. E: De eso, [no sé]

39. C: [No vale nada,] no vale nada, [no vale nada.]

40. E: [Yo no juzgo] a nadie
para que no me juzgen a mi.

41. C: La verdad es que no vale [nada la cabeza ( )])

42. E: [para ( )]
para mi, mi, yo valgo muchísimo.

43. C: No, yo no valgo nada, porque si valiera, ya me
hubiese [vendido.

44. E: [( ) mi vida no tiene precio.

/laughter/

45. E: Ah.

46. C: Si yo valiera algo, yo me hubiese vendido. Nadie
me quiere (comprar).

47. P: [(laughs)

48. E: [Tú [tampoco.]

49. C: [est-] estaba vendiendo la mujer y el hijo y
nadie me los quizo comprar. Me vendo yo, menos me
quieren comprar...entonces ¿que voy a hacer. No
puedo vender. No puedo vender, no puedo hacer
negocios...pero que mire esto. [Siempre] vivo como
el morivivi.

50. ?: [( )]

Key

[ ] = overlapping speech

( ) = not transcribable

(words)= unclear, transcriber's guess

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AN INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF NARRATION IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

Celia Alvarez

1.0 Introduction

The following analysis is part of an on-going study of narrative performance among Puerto Rican bilinguals in New York City.[1] The larger work is an effort to extend previous linguistic studies of this community (Poplack 1978, 1980c, Pousada and Poplack 1979, Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff 1981) into the realm of discourse and to situate linguistic analysis within a broader social and historical analysis of the Puerto Rican community.

The larger study will examine:

1. the relation between form and function in the study of code-switching as a feature of performance in personal experience narratives (Labov 1972b, Labov and Fanshel 1977, Hymes 1974a, Schiffren 1981, Wolfson 1976a and b, 1978, 1979);

2. narrative in social context with particular focus on the evolving relationship between speakers in interaction and performance (Wolfson 1976a and b, Schriffren 1983, Schenkein 1978, Gumperz 1982a, Tannen 1980c, 1981b, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1974, Goffman 1967, 1974, 1981, Goodwin 1978);

3. the social significance of narrative beyond the confines of the text situated within the broader social, cultural, and historical experiences of the speakers involved, i.e. addressing issues of language and cultural identity, social contradictions between lived experiences and presentation of self in interaction, traditional cultural norms and their re-elaboration, re-interpretation, limitations and contradictions when juxtaposed with the socio-economic reality of individual lives (Basso 1979, Polanyi 1979, Goffman 1959, Geertz 1973, Gumperz 1982b, Limón 1983, Hernández and Vales 1973, Lauria 1964, De Granda 1968, Varo 1971, Culture Task Force 1976).

The overall study therefore aims to contextualize and examine the interplay of narrative performance at three levels--structural, interactional, and societal.

The analysis presented in this report is a preliminary study of the function of narration at the interactional and societal levels. It examines the role stories play in elucidating the interests, concerns, and contradictions of individual lives as they unfold within the progression of the social interaction.

The analysis departs from the premise that in any interaction people take up particular social positions vis-a-vis each other which impact upon the values, interests, and themes permeating their discussions (Gumperz 1982, Goffman 1959, 1974, 1981). It focuses on the negotiation of topic as it is developed by the same participants in two different social settings and examines the role stories play in this development.

In determining what is meant at different points in each interaction, I rely on interpretive frames (Gumperz 1982, Tannen 1977, Goffman 1974) based on 1) my experience with similar situations or contexts, 2) ethnographic, demographic, and interview data of the speakers involved, 3) grammatical and lexical knowledge and knowledge about the structural characterizations of oral narrative, as well as 4) social, cultural, and historical knowledge of the Puerto Rican community in New York City.

For each interaction, I consider:

1) speakers' definitions of their relationships to each other within the local context,

2) the impact this has on thematic and story development within the interaction, and
3) the way in which this development elucidates the conflicts and social contradictions which permeate individual lives; in other words, the normative expectations for behavior versus the realities of the speakers' lives.

I conclude with a summary statement in which I discuss the broader social and cultural questions which this type of analysis opens up for further exploration.

2.0 Data

The data for analysis will include the following excerpts of tape-recorded speech between P, a Puerto Rican male and Z, a Puerto Rican female in two different socially-defined contexts. Although the over-riding social relationship of interviewer/ee permeates their relationship, relations of power are renegotiated and defined in each setting. These will be discussed in the analysis of each interaction.

Key for transcription

[ ] = overlapping speech
(FS)= false start
#   = unintelligible
... = pause
( ) = part of word not uttered

2.1 Zoraida B-B77 (00)

1. Zoraida: She's taking this course. She wants to know all about los indios de Puerto Rico. All (FS) ¿Toditos de ellos? She # it's interesting. Boring, but interesting.

2. Pedro: (laughter)

3. Zoraida: I go to her house and she gets me all (FS) She's got books. She's got...cajas de libros. But not just de Puerto Rico. About all countries. Yeah, she'll sit me [down.]

4. Pedro: [# you]

5. Zoraida: And I'll tell her in two minutes. Angie, it's interesting but it's boring. She'll get upset.

6. Pedro: Where did she take that course?

7. Zoraida: She's taking it (FS) she's taking it now.

8. Pedro: But where? What school?

9. Zoraida: In Jersey somewhere.

10. Pedro: Oh, at a school in [Jersey?]

11. Zoraida: [Yeah]

12. Pedro: Rutgers?

13. Zoraida: I don't know...I don't know.

14. Pedro: I know a place in Jersey where they teach a course like [that.]

15. Zoraida: [yeah?]

16. Pedro: Where does she live in Jersey?

17. Zoraida: She lives in North (FS) North Bergen.

18. Pedro: North Bergen?

19. Zoraida: Yeah.

20. Pedro: ...Is Newark far from her?

21. Zoraida: No...It's about fifteen minutes.

22. Pedro: Really?

23. Zoraida: Um, its (FS) It's about...twelve minutes.

24. Pedro: Twelve minutes?

25. Zoraida: By car.

26. Pedro: That means that it could be Rutgers then.
Because I know that's where they're (FS)
I know a Puerto Rican Studies Department
there.

27. Zoraida: Yeah?

28. Pedro: Yeah, and if it's not that far from her,
it's (FS) she (FS) she can be taking (FS)
Twelve minutes is nothing.

29. Zoraida: ...yeah.

30. Pedro: ...And she likes it?

31. Zoraida: I used to work in Newark. Newark is #.

32. Pedro: You used to work in Newark?

33. Zoraida: Yeah, I used to be a model (FS) a barmaid.

34. Pedro: A what?

35. Zoraida: Pues nena, no yo no pude trabajar without
this thing over (FS) like over here tú te
pones una bata a trabajar, you know that?
And they'll consider you y they'll try to make
passes at you, and they (FS) If they don't
succeed, Ay, te llaman all kind of names.
Pero en Jersey, there's so much respect.
It's (FS) I believe that it's the person
que lo da anyway, ¿verdad?

36. Pedro: Yeah.

37. Zoraida: Pero aquí they don't care si tú lo das...
you know? They just not gonna stand for
this nonsense...pero allá it's (FS) it's so
nice. I really enjoy (FS) I enjoy talking
to people, I enjoy people, period.

38. Pedro: Y aquí no te respetan? [Si]

39. Zoraida: [No aquí] (FS)
No que no me respetan, I haven't tried
out here. I ain't gonna try it...because
I don't want to go through the changes, de
tener que meterle una espescozada allí.
And really, you know, go out of my way,
Because yo no se lo voy a permitir. I
believe if I give you la confianza you
got it. But if I don't give it to you,
don't take it. Because it's not gonna last
last you very long...you know, they even
have dogs going para las barras. They
(FS) I had this one, his name was Whiskey.
La cosa más [chula.]

40. Pedro: [#]

41. Zoraida: He used to get stoned out of his #. Whiskey.

42. Pedro: Who?

43. Zoraida: Whiskey.

44. Pedro: The dog?

45. Zoraida: Yeah. [He's] like this.

46. Pedro: [Who's]
Is that [the dog that Chocolate had?]

47. Zoraida: [No. No.]
This one is like this, And he's a Chihuahua.
Yeah, ¡Es un fresco! And you know what
he did? He used to love to dance. Okay,
like where I worked there's go-go girls,
right? So there's nice music, Disco. Hey,
cuando empezaban a poner discos ese perrito
se levantaba él al bar. He used to dance.
Embanado. We used to [#]

48. Pedro: [¿Como?] He used to
drink liquor # el bar?

49. Zoraida: Hey, el amo (FS) el señor (FS) el dueño de
él, which was un viejito bien nice que lo
tenía. He used to carry con el platito de
él. Oh, and he didn't drink in anybody's

cup or nothing. Entonces when he came in
the bar # they could pour # double shot.
Se lo ponía al perrito. El perrito cojía
el #, (laughter) He used to come and taste
like (FS) He was like that toda la noche.

50. Pedro: He (FS) He was a partygoer, huh?

51. Zoraida: Yeah.
He was beautiful.

52. Pedro: It was a Chihuahua?

53. Zoraida: I believe that's what you call them. They're
very small...they're not long.

54. Pedro: Right.

55. Zoraida: I don't believe that's what you call them
at all, Because , ¿los Chihuahuas no son
los largos salchichas, [esos?]

56. Pedro: [No.]

[No.]

57. Zoraida: [Oh,] Well then he's a Chihuahua. He was...
brown and white. Y chiquitito. He had
such an adorable face.

58. Pedro: ...What happened to him?

59. Zoraida: I don't know. I stopped working there,
[By that time]

60. Pedro: [But I thought he was] (FS) I thought he
was your dog?

61. Zoraida: No, He was this...old man's dog que iba
I guess (FS) Este hombre iba like Friday,
Saturday, and Sunday and you didn't see him
for the rest of the week.

62. Pedro: So this was in a bar where you worked?

63. Zoraida: Yeah, this was in Machito's place. This
was in Christopher Street, Newark. ...
A nice place.

64. Pedro: How come you stopped working there?

65. Zoraida: Because, I just (FS) like I boté todas las cosas., By that time I had just moved, And I wanted a new bedroom set...which I knew was gonna take me a long, long time to get. #I only worked a month.

66. Pedro: ...Did you get it?

67. Zoraida: Yeah, I got it, I got it home,

68. Pedro: (laughter # at home?

69. Zoraida: Yeah.

2.2 Zoraida A-B77 (390)

1. Pedro: En têrminos de...de los años que tú has vivido aquí en este vecindario, en este bloque, [verdad]

2. Zoraida: [¿Aquí?] Aha.

3. Pedro: ¿Este, que (FS) ¿como tú dirías van las cosas? ¿Tu dirí(as) (FS) ¿Tu dirías.., que las cosas van peor?...¿o que las cosas se van mejorando? Porque hay (FS) [en eso] hay mucho...

4. Zoraida: [Peor]

5. Pedro: Aquí hay mucho de (FS) opiniones sobre eso. [Alguna gente] dice que es (FS)

6. Zoraida: [Peor.]

7. Pedro: que es (FS) que es mejor y otros [dicen que #]

8. Zoraida: [I don't know.] yo digo que es peor.

9. Pedro: ¿Por qué?...(3 secs.)

10. Zoraida: I don't know, ¿por qué? I don't know. I really do...But (FS) But I'm not going to say. But I think it is, getting worse. When I came here in seventy-two it was (FS) This was nice...that's when the cuar(tel) (FS) los de los bomberos y de los (FS) El cuartel de policía estaba allí. But once they took that shit out, then everybody started partying. I don't like this block like I used to before.

11. Pedro: What don't you like about it?

12. Zoraida: People... [(laughter)]

13. Pedro: [oh, yeah?] What about the people?

14. Zoraida: Oh, they're so noi(sy) (FS) nosey.

15. Pedro: But they were nosey before when the [police]

16. Zoraida: [No.]

17. were here, right?

18. Zoraida: No, not re(ally) (FS) Well,

19. Pedro: The police [didn't stop them from being nosey.]

20. Zoraida: [yeah. yeah, that's true.]
...,yeah. Hay pero están pa (FS) There's
a whole lot of shit. There's killings.
They're giving a whole lot of holdups. Okay,
esto siempre se ha visto but not like before,
especially in my mother's building, you know...
you see all kind of weird shits. All kind of
nights. Todo a cualquier hora... There's
less consideration but I feel it's because
there's more teenagers over here, you know?
Antes no # (FS) When I first came to settle
aquí, lo que yo veía eran viejitas. I think
they died cause I don't see them no more, gente
de edad. There's a lot of young kids over
here...There's no consideration. Not me,
I don't care...Pero no consideran a la gen(te)
(FS) a las personas de ma(yor) (FS) de edad,
a la gente (FS) a la gente mayor.

21. Pedro: ¿La juventud o la gente en general?

22. Zoraida: La ju(ventud) (FS) la gente en general
But (FS) Pero hay muchos (FS) I believe que
aquí son adolescents. What I mean by that
es que they're not even eighteen...you know?.

23. Pedro: Right.

24. Zoraida: And housing? Las [casas].. like, [oh man,]

25. Pedro: [está] (FS) [¿se he mejorado?]
[¿o se ha puesto peor?]

26. Zoraida: [No...] se han puesto peor.
...Because um donde vive (FS) Where my mother
lives before (FS) maybe I guess it's the person
that's taking care of the house now, but still,
se (FS) se ha puesto mal. Before you (FS)
Esos hallways, you could've eaten out of those
hallways and they smelled good. Man, sometimes
yo ni subo arriba. I just call my mother from
outside...Y # peste. And oh,...people smoking
in the hallway...People coming down con las
manos rotas, con un cuchillo pasado hasta por
acá abajo. (Begins excited rapid speech)

27. Pedro [¿SÍ? (surprised)]

28. Zoraida: └And just, you know (FS) Yeah!┘

29. Pedro: ¿Tu mamá ha visto eso?

30. Zoraida: Man, yeah, my mother's going (FS) my
mother allí va cojer un ataque de nervios...
she's telling me the ┌last time ┐

31. Pedro: └¿Cuándo? ¿Cuándo fue ┘
que pasó eso?

32. Zoraida: a I this was three weeks ago.
b She's telling me...
c I went home early.
d It was a Saturday.
e And she said que como a las once de la
noche, she heard a whole lot of commotion...
f y cuando ella abre la puerta (FS)
g Porque yo le digo, "Mami, tú eres
presentá, you know"?
h And since #; pues ella dice que ella miró
por el peephole.
i she saw everything nice and clear.
j so abrió la puerta...
k she (laughter) (FS) she said (laughter)
que (FS)
l la puerta del hall le queda aquí.
m las escaleras is right here.
n so she sees everything that's going up
and down.
o Well, she opened the door.
p She said she closed it (FS) closed it
faster than when she opened it,
q porque bajó un tipo con un cuchillo de
aquí a acá.
r you see he had a fight with his old lady
s And his (FS) la tipa lo apuñ(aló) (FS)
le apuñaló la mano, you know. (excited)
t And he's coming like this.
u And all the bood is dripping.
v He's yelling like una mujer...(end of rapid
speech)
w You know?...
x I ain't never seen that...
y Mami dice, "yo nunca he visto una cosa así,"...

33. Pedro: ┌#, that's dangerous.┐

34. Zoraida: └ It's terrible... ┘

35. Pedro: That's bad.

3.0 Background of the speakers

3.1 Zoraida

Z is a 28 year old woman, born in Puerto Rico, who lived in the rural area of Cabo Rojo until she came to New York City at the age of 8. She has lived in El Barrio most of her life, although at the time of this recording she resided in the Bronx. Z, however, frequented the block under study on a weekly basis maintaining her ties with her mother (who still lives there) and with other social networks on the block (Pedraza 1982).

A divorced mother of two, Z is a housewife who supports herself and her family on the income she receives from welfare. She attended up to the fourth year of high school in the New York City public school system. Z is a fluent bilingual and can speak, read, write, and understand both Spanish and English.

According to her responses to the Language Attitude Questionnaire[2], Z maintains that Spanish should remain the language of Puerto Rico, given its historical tradition on the island. In addition, she feels Spanish should be kept alive within the Puerto Rican community in the U.S. and places responsibility for this on all sectors of the community, e.g. families, schools, colleges, political groups, etc.

For Z language is important to group solidarity. To speak Spanish or talk like a Puerto Rican are important aspects of Puerto Rican identity; that we speak the same way helps to hold the Puerto Rican community together.

3.2 Pedro

A second generation Puerto Rican, P was born and raised in New York City. Educated in the New York City public school system, P graduated from high school and pursued undergraduate and graduate studies in private universities. Divorced, and a father of two, P came to live in El Barrio with his family after residing in the Bronx for several years. At the time of these field recordings, P was 31 years old. He was employed as researcher with the Language Policy Task Force of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY, and engaged in a long-term ethnographic study of social networks and language use on a block in East Harlem (Pedraza ms.).

Through participant observation of community network interaction, P selected key members for interviewing on an individual and group basis. Although more dominant in English, P used both Spanish and English in his interactions with community members. Using a language attitude questionnaire (LPTF 1977), individuals were recorded in formal interviews, as well as informal interactions.

These recordings, completed over a 3 year period, served as the corpus for the ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and attitudinal studies of East Harlem performed by the Language Policy Task Force (LPTF 1980). They also constitute the data base for this study.

4.0 Analysis of data

4.1 Social interaction I /Zoraida 3-B77 (1341) /

4.1.1 Social setting

At the time of this interaction, P had known Z for 2 years, and they had been friends for about a year. P had already completed a more structured formal interview with her based on the Language Attitude Survey questionnaire (LPTF 1977).

This particular interaction took place one morning as P and Z were sitting on a local park bench. Unlike the interview setting (where P maintained control over the direction of the discussion as interviewer), this social situation is defined principally by Z. It may be characterized as informal and non-interview in style. Z defines its general development and direction by introducing and developing the topics under discussion.

The relationship between speakers is a non-hierarchical one among peers. Both P and Z are ingroup members of the Puerto Rican community and share some common background knowledge about schooling, community life in New York City and New Jersey, socializing in bars, as well as traditionally defined norms of behavior, e.g., respeto and confianza--themes which are developed in their discussion.

The interaction begins with Z explaining to P the type of college course her sister is taking in New Jersey and her general impressions of traditional literate forms of schooling.

4.1.2 Negotiation of topic interaction

In this initial interchange (1-5), Z establishes that her sister is taking a course on the history of Puerto Rico. In addition, Z makes note of the fact that her sister's home is overflowing with books. Although she finds the content of the material interesting, reading and discussing her sister's books is a boring task. Her impatience with reading books as a way of seeking out information (even on topics which are of particular interest to her, including Puerto Rican history) reflects a negative attitude toward literate forms of learning. This attitude in turn upsets her sister who , given her more extensive experience with American higher education, tries to share knowledge in this way with her.

P meanwhile is concerned with clarifying where Z's sister is taking what he assumes to be a Puerto Rican studies course taught at a local college (6 - 29). Having established that her sister resides in New Jersey near Newark, P claims that she must be taking her course at Rutgers--a major university in New Jersey with an urban campus in Newark that has a Puerto Rican Studies Department. He pauses briefly after providing reasons to substantiate his claim and inquires about her sister's general evaluation of the course (30).

Z does not address his question, however. She continues the discussion along the thematic lines developed earlier, e.g., the topic of Newark having been introduced into the conversation by P earlier in the interaction (20). Z associates old information (Newark) with new information (work experiences) and introduces the topic of having worked as a barmaid in Newark (31 - 34) into the discussion.

Z characterizes her work experience by describing in detail the kinds of verbal and sexual affronts she was subjected to as a barmaid. She maintains that bars in New York and New Jersey are differentiated by the way their clientele treat barmaids. According to Z, men in New Jersey bars (where she has worked) are more respectful towards barmaids than in New York City. Consequently she minimizes any negative judgement of her self-respect or self-esteem as a Puerto Rican woman for having worked in a bar by choosing to work only where in fact she is given due respect (35 - 37). Z elaborates on the issue of self-respect, emphasizing the point that irrespective of where one is situated (geographically or socially), self-respect must fundamentally emanate from oneself (35). She then reiterates how conditions are much nicer for barmaids in New Jersey than in New York. Z concludes by asserting in a more positive light the social aspect of the work which she enjoyed, i.e., socializing and talking with people (37).

P then inquires about the lack of respect Z has encountered in New York City bars given her negative evaluation of them (38). She immediately responds and interrupts him in her effort to clarify her point (39). She states that although in fact she has never actually worked in New York City as a barmaid, she has no intention of ever doing so given her expectation of working in an environment where her boundaries of self-respect are likely to be violated . She claims she wants to avoid being put in a position where she would have to slap someone for stepping beyond the boundaries of trust and intimacy that she sets up between them. Z asserts that the boundaries of *confianza* which define and surround her relationships with men should be respected and, if they are not, consequences will ensue. Although her feelings about the lack of respect which she attributes to the men who frequent the bars of New York may not be based on any actual experience as a barmaid, they characterize her attitude towards the men who frequent those bars.

Z returns to the discussion of the bars in New Jersey and focuses on an additional fact that differentiates them from those in New York:[3]

"You know, *they even have dogs going a las barras.*" This statement corroborates her earlier claim that bars in New Jersey are much nicer and less threatening than those in New York. Subsequently she gives a depiction of a dog named Whiskey that frequented the bar where she worked (39-40). After clarifying a point about ownership, Z describes the dog; he is a 'cute' but 'fresh' Chihauhua for whom drinking and dancing became a habitual part of his behavior in the bar (42-49).

Z affirms that the dog in fact was a partygoer (50 -51) and a Chihuahua (52 - 57). When asked about the dog's whereabouts, Z responds negatively and asserts that she is no longer employed at the bar (58 - 59). Once again she clarifies for P the fact that the dog did not belong to her but to an elderly man who would bring him to the bar on weekends (60 - 63).

Z's description of the bar is consonant with her attitude that the people and work environment in New Jersey are "nicer" compared to New York. It was so 'nice' that she not only worked in a bar there, but had even moved there to live.[4] In fact, when P inquires about her reasons for leaving the bar (64), Z provides the following explanation.

At the time she had taken the job, Z had just moved into a new apartment in New Jersey. Having thrown all her furniture away, she was in need of a new bedroom set (65). Given that her only source of income was welfare, Z knew it would take her a long time to make this major purchase.[5] She took the job in the bar to meet her material objective needs at the time. Consequently, she only worked there for a month, i.e., as long as she needed to accrue the money to buy the bedroom set (66 - 69).

4.13 Social consciousness and social practice

Within the context of the thematic development of this interaction, several issues come to the fore which bear on Z's understanding of her sense of self and her relationship to the Puerto Rican community, as well as U.S. society:

The first is her relationship to the written word. Early in the interaction (1 - 5), questions of literacy are raised in Z's characterization of her interaction with her sister and her books. Z and her sister are differentiated with respect to the attitudes and practices they maintain toward literate forms of conveying information. Her sister, who has continued with her education beyond high school, appears to be much more open to such forms of learning. It is interesting to note, however, that when Z was separately and explicitly asked within the context of the formal interview[6] about her reading practices, she claimed to read magazines and books (mainly in English) but not any newspaper at all. However, when this response is compared to her actual practice (as she describes it in this interaction), we find that it is an inaccurate and misleading self-evaluation subject to further verification, i.e., the actual observation of her literacy practices in context e.g. home, school, community, etc. The social bases for these differences in attitude and practice between Z and her sister need to be further explored, taking into consideration how each deals with both oral and written forms of communication.

The second issue, which surfaces in her discussion about working as a barmaid, concerns the norms for behavior between men and women based on the traditional Puerto Rican values of respeto and confianza. Respeto, a quality of self which must be present in any interpersonal encounter, refers to the respect and deference individuals must have for themselves and others. As Z and others[7] maintain, self respect must first emanate from oneself before it can be given by others. Confianza, on the other hand, refers to a relationship of trust and familiarity with another person which must be given and never taken without consent (Lauria 1964).

In this interaction, Z sustains that she is a woman who commands respect. Irrespective of the fact that she is working in a profession where women are not respected (as she illustrated by her description of the kinds of verbal and sexual affronts women encounter in bars (31 - 36), Z demands that she be accorded the self-respect due her and asserts that she would go so far as to fight someone to maintain that respect (37 - 39). Z's attitude and behavior represent what is expected of her within the Puerto Rican community. For as Lauria (1964) affirms:

> no Puerto Rican is considered properly socialized unless he can comport himself with _respeto_ ...Conflict, or its threat, follows upon an abuse of such trust, or when one presumes to inject an element of _confianza_ in a relationship where there should be none. 8

It is not unusual then, given the fact that Z shares these community values, for her to want to make explicit that she will only work in a place where she is accorded due respect. Her elaborate discussion of the nice bar in New Jersey (35,36,37,62-63) serves to illustrate this point.

It is interesting to note, however, that the behavior (presence or absence of respect) upon which she bases her negative and positive evaluations of men in New York and New Jersey bars is presented or alluded to only in the most general of terms. When referring to these men, Z uses very impersonal and indefinite forms of reference (e.g. you, they) which do not refer to any specific person(s) (32,37). In addition, she discusses in the most hypothetical of terms (rather than referring to any specific personal experience) what her actions might be if confronted with a lack of respect or abuse of _confianza_ in a bar (39).

Not even in Z's most personal account of her work experience in the bar in New Jersey (39-49) does she talk about herself and her experiences with men. Instead, she focuses her attention on the tricks of a fresh, but harmless little dog who frequented the bar but posed no threat to her sense of well-being. The only man, in fact, to whom she refers is the dog's owner described as a 'nice old man' (49, 61).

Z's story is illustrative not only of the 'nice' image she wants to corroborate about New Jersey in general and her place of work in particular, but also implicitly of the nice image of herself that she would like to project. For in choosing to work in a bar whose atmosphere is so congenial and respectful that even an old man and his dog can be the center of attraction, Z presents herself as the 'nice' Puerto Rican woman who selectively chooses the kind of work place where her self-respect will not be threatened. Her omission of any social encounter with men in which this respect might be infringed upon, especially in a context (bar) in which one would expect this to occur, indicates that Z may not be telling it all, but rather trying to give a good presentation of self which is coherent with her self-image of being a respectable Puerto Rican woman. Finally, her story about the dog may also be interpreted metaphorically, with the socially acceptable behavior of the dog being contrasted to the implicit unacceptable behavior of men in the same context. Only men who pose no social threat to her are found acceptable.

A third and final issue to which this interaction alludes is Z's efforts of outward social mobility from the community in El Barrio to somewhere else.[10] In this interaction, she juxtaposes life in New York with that of New Jersey. Z points out how New Jersey is a nicer and safer place for a woman to work and live. In the next interaction, Z more explicitly states her discontent with life in El Barrio. Although she has chosen to live outside of it, her familial and social ties keep her connected to the community there.

4.2 Social Interaction II/Zoraida A-B77(421)/

4.2.1 Social setting

This interaction consists of the latter end of P's formal interview with Z. At the time of this interview, Z no longer resided in El Barrio. She was living in the Bronx, but would come to the block at least once a week to visit her mother.[11] This social situation is initiated by P, who structures the interaction by eliciting from Z responses to the Language Attitude Survey Questionnaire (LPTF 1977). The nature of this questioning procedure establishes a more hierarchical (interviewer/ee) and formal (impersonal) relationship between P and Z, in which it is P who delimits what will be discussed.[12]

As interviewer, P initiates the discussion by asking Z (1,3,5,7,9,11,13) her opinion about conditions on the block. Z responds accordingly with direct answers to his questions (4,6,8,10,12,14). In fact, only once in this initial interchange does she provide any elaboration of her discontent with the block (10). Even then, however, Z explicitly denies wanting to disclose her reasons.

Up to this point in the interaction, Z in her role as interviewee (which defines her relationship with P) limits the amount of evaluative information she will reveal to P. As the interaction progresses, however, the relationship between P and Z evolves. It shifts from being a more formal, distantiated, hierarchical and impersonal interviewer/ee relationship to that of a more informal, egalitarian and personal relationship among peers who share background knowledge about the community (15,17,19). This shift qualitatively affects how Z subsequently responds to P in the interaction, i.e., how much of her personal experience she will share.

Z elaborates in much greater detail the bases for her feelings about the block (20). In fact, a shift occurs in which it is Z rather than P who leads the conversation by introducing new topics for discussion This shift reflects the change in their ever-evolving relationship to each other within the interaction.[13]

4.2.2 Negotiation of topic in interaction

P initiates this interaction by asking Z directly what she thinks of conditions on the block (1 , 3). Z provides an impersonal, cryptic, but direct answer to his question (4) and does not elaborate any further. P ignores her response (5 , 7) and makes a general claim about the diversity of opinion in the community around this issue. Twice (6 , 8) Z interjects her opinion and reaffirms her initial response that things had gotten worse on the block.

When P inquires about her reasons for feeling this way (9), Z resists revealing them to him (10). Subsequently, however, she goes on to provide her reasons. She explains that the block was nice until the fire-station and police precinct were removed from it. It was then, according to Z, that chaos ensued and the block began to deteriorate. Z perceives the presence of the precinct on the block as a stabilizing force; it is there to maintain law and order in the community.[14] In its absence, the people have lost all sense of social control , and Z is very unhappy with life on the block .

When P requests that Z specifically describe what she dislikes about the block (11, 12), Z replies with a terse, unevaluated response[15] accompanied by laughter. This response seems to indicate that Z is not only being very uncooperative with P(i.e. just merely answering the question but not providing him with the explanation he seeks), but also getting pleasure out of behaving in this manner. His initial request unfulfilled, P asks Z once more for greater elaboration (13). She retorts with a succinct but general evaluative comment (14) which P, given his knowledge of the community challenges as an inadequate explanation (15, 17, 19).

Subsequently, a qualitative change occurs in P and Z's relationship. Z concedes to the limitations of her argument (16, 18, 20) and goes on to discuss (in greater detail and with greater personal involvement than at any other previous point in the discussion) what has happened on the block to make it worse and to cause her to dislike it (20).

Z's initial evaluation of the situation is focused on the general manifestation and escalation of violence on the block. This characterization of violence is then personalized as she describes its effects on her mother's building located on the block. Z blames the youth, who have lost all respect and consideration for the elders of the community, for the problems of the neighborhood (20-23).

Z then introduces the issue of housing on the block and inserts in her statement evaluative commentary without it yet having been requested by P (24). P, however, asks explicitly for her opinion on the matter anyway. (25). Z respends not only with a statement about how housing in the neighborhood has in general deteriorated, but also readily presents her own personal experience with the housing situation by evaluating once again conditions in her mother's building (26).

The open, spontaneous, and personalized character of her response (20, 24, 26) is in direct contrast to Z's earlier responses to P's inquiries (4,6,8,10,12,14). There she merely answered his questions directly and did not provide any explanation for her positions unless provoked to do so. Personal involvement with the subject matter being discussed was also kept at a minimum. These responses, however, reflect a shift in the relationship between P and Z in the degree of candor and personal involvement which Z allowed herself to be engaged in with him.

Z vividly illustrates (26), for example, how the super and landlord have let the maintenance of the building progressively deteriorate over the years. In addition, she notes how people have taken to congregating and smoking in the hallways. Last of all, Z graphically describes the injuries incurred by individuals in the building (the outcome of violent acts) as witnessed in the hallways by others.

P responds to Z's statements in an incredulous manner and requests that she verify her claims (27, 29). Z affirms the validity of her statements (28,30) and elaborates on how this violence has affected her mother. She beings to further illustrate her point (31) when P interjects and elicits further more detailed information regarding the extremely violent scene alluded to earlier (26). In so doing, P opens the floor for Z to provide a narrative account of the event.

Z, in fact, responds with a narrative of vicarious experience[16] in which she provides an evaluative account of the events which led up to that scene (32). She presents the following scenario:

a) the setting of the event including who, what, when, and where (a-d, l-n);

b) the social circumstances surrounding the event including a description of the type of behavior which generally characterized her mother and others (g); as well as, the presumed behavior (preceding the subsequent event) of other participants (r,s);

c) the event itself, that is, what in fact her mother saw (e, f, h-k, o-q, t-v);

d) and finally, the evaluation of her mother (g) , the event (w-y), and ultimately, the block itself (34).

Z initially presents her mother's experience from the perspective of the third person, i.e., from her mother's viewpoint (a-s). Yet a shift occurs when she describes what her mother actually saw (t-x). Z dramatizes this by characterizing what occurs as her own personal experience. She does this by:

a) shifting from 3rd to 1st person perspective, rather than using indirect speech to introduce events;

b) shifting from the past to the present tense, using progressive aspect to indicate not only the co-occurrence of events, but also continuous iterative action[17];

c) and finally, by hastening her rate of speech from a slower to faster pace.

The culmination of her dramatic performance[18] is therefore based on her personalization and evaluation of a vicarious experience.

Within the context of the overall interaction, this narrative serves as the final and most personally engaging response to P's initial inquiry (1, 3) about the block. Once her relationship with P is no longer constrained, nor merely defined by the limitations of the interview situation (that is, P's background knowledge of the community becomes self-evident (15,17,19) and they interact on the solidary bases of their ingroup membership rather than on their insider/outsider roles as interviewee/er), Z progressively discloses more about herself (16,18,20,24,26), e.g., what she perceives to have contributed to the degeneration of the block; how this has affected her life, in particular through the reality of her mother living there, etc.

Throughout these turns at speaking, Z alludes to an event (20 , 26) which epitomizes the violence she claims has permeated not only her mother's building but the entire block. When P asks that she disclose the details of this event (27,29,31), she vividly and elaborately does so in her narration (32). The awesome nature of the violence captured by this event is evident in the repetition and juxtaposition of her explicit evaluative commentary (32w,x) with that of her mother (32y) within the narrative.[19] That this story illustrates her initial point, i.e. that life has gotten worse on the block (4, 6, 8), is made explicit in the coda of the narrative (34) where Z affirms her initial evaluation.

P, in turn, shares her general evaluation (33 , 35). His shared background knowledge and shared evaluation satisfy the conditions defined by Wolfson (1976, 1978) for the performance of a narrative.

The relationship between P and Z has been dynamic, and not static, evolving as the speakers interacted throughout. Although P remains the interviewer and Z the interviewee, a change in 'footing' (Goffman 1981) has occurred in which their relationship is no longer merely defined on that basis, but rather overshadowed by other social ties (ingroup membership, shared background knowledge shared evaluation).[20] This qualitative change in the basis of their relationship culminates in the performance of narrative of personal experience in response to P.

4.2.3 Social consciousness and social practice

The thematic development of this interaction is primarily structured by the questioning procedure used by P to elicit explicit information regarding the existing quality of life in El Barrio (1,3). The result is a discussion between P and Z of the impact of social change on the community. It is Z's contention that life on the block has deteriorated significantly over the years (4, 6, 8). She provides the following explanation to substantiate her position.

First of all, she maintains that social chaos (loss of social control/violence) has permeated the community as a result of the removal of the local police precinct (10). Once the police department was no longer there to maintain law and order, "then everybody started partying". This event marked a significant turning point for the community with regard to its perception about safety on the block.

For Z, authoritarian rule deriving from external social controls such as the police are necessary to regulate social behavior on the block. The community is unable to practice self-control nor to hold its members responsible for the harmful and violent acts imposed on others. Consequently, individually, as well as collectively, the community is perceived as powerless in containing the growing violence emerging within it.

Z maintains that the traditional values of mutual respect and consideration have begun to degenerate. These are the values which in the past helped to define a sense of community and collective responsibility among the Puerto Rican community. She accuses the youth for being the culprits of this disintegration of community bonds as well as contributors to the growing violence in the neighborhood (20,22, 26).

This has had a tremendous impact on the lives of the elders of the community, and in particular on her mother (20, 26, 30, 32). Mothers and elders play key roles in Puerto Rican family life and are accorded the utmost respect. Without this respect for one another, the path is left open for elders and women in the community to be victims of violence. Her story, therefore, exemplifies this violence and its effect on her mother's life.

Again lack of respeto comes to the fore as particularly significant in Z's negative evaluation of community life in New York. Earlier she emphasized the presence/absence of respeto in relationships among men and women. In that context, men posed a threat to the respect due women in interaction. In this discussion, the focus of comparison is between the youth and elders of the community. According to Z, the elders (whether male/female) are the preservers of the community's traditional values. They are respectful and mindful of others, safe to be around, and pose no threat to her sense of well-being as a woman (e.g. as illustrated earlier by the nice old man in the bar and here by her idealization of the block during her earlier years when "lo que yo veía eran viejitos" (20). The youth and men of the community, however, are perceived as potential threats to those community values of respeto/confianza which protect the rights of women and elders to exist unharmed. Z concludes that it is this lack of respect for oneself and others which leads to the general deterioration of living conditions in El Barrio (10,20,26,30,32).

5.0 Conclusions

In the preceding discussion, an effort was made to examine how two speakers, P and Z, negotiated their relationship in two distinct social encounters. Although these segments of speech were part of a recorded interview, we were able to explore how the structural constraints on speaking imposed by the interview framework (e.g., question and answer format; impersonal characterization of interaction; topic development initiated by interviewer etc. (Wolfson 1976), were weakened in interaction. Rather than being determinant, these constraints were relaxed in P and Z's discussions as they mediated towards a more open-ended (i.e., with Z helping to direct the conversations as well as P) and personal stance.

Wolfson (1976,1978) has stated that social factors such as shared ethnic group membership contribute to the development of more intimate (shared background/evaluation) relationships within the interview setting which contribute to narrative performance in this context. I maintain that the development of a solidary peer relationship within an interview is not based on such external social factors alone, What I have tried to illustrate in this study is how at the level of social interaction, individuals (even those who share ingroup membership) negotiate the basis of their relationship in every social encounter.

The nature of the social relationship between speakers is never static or categorical and consequently, should not be assumed merely on the basis of the social roles (e.g. interviewer/ee, class, ethnic groups, sex, etc.) ascribed to individual speakers or on the characterization of a particular social situation (e.g. interview/non-interview; formal/ informal), as has been the case within the traditional quantitative sociolinguistic paradigm (Labov 1972a, 1972b, Wolfson 1976, 1978). The social theoretical approach from which these studies depart views

> societies as: "essentially static, moral corporations whose members' behavior is explicable in terms of, if not determined by, jural rules. The behavior of persons is explained in terms of their roles, that is, the rights and duties devolving upon them as a result of the formal positions they occupy in various institutions." [21]

Consequently, the role of human agency involved (Goffman 1959, 1974) in the mutual creation by speakers of a social context in which to share experience and its effect on language (in this case oral narration) needs to be further explored in sociolinguistic research, a field concerned with the study of language use in social context. From this perspective, I maintain that the social roles [22] assumed by individuals in interaction, whether formal or informal, can be multiple in number and contradictory in purpose within the same context. As a result, the relationships established in any social context need to be discovered, rather than merely assumed on the basis of external social categories.

This study has been an initial attempt to introduce a social interactionist perspective (Goffman 1959, 1974, 1981, Gumperz 1982) to the study of oral narration in conversation.[23] My concern has been to "reintroduce the concept of man as an interacting social being capable of manipulating others as well as being manipulated by them"[24] into an analysis of the social function narrative in interaction. An effort has been made to situate in the "foreground of social (linguistic) analysis the notion of internal processes and the inherent dynamics in relations between interdependent human beings."[25] In this view, social structure is conceived of as dynamic:

> Relationships are continually subject to negotiation between members (Suttles 1970; Fine 1980z). These negotiations, central to symbolic interactionalist analyses of social life, produce changes in the social structure of a group, or its negotiated order (Strauss et al. 1963; see also Strauss 1978)...Relationships, then, change over time in the meanings people assign them...[26]

Of particular concern was the examination of how the evolving social relationship negotiated between speakers in each interaction[27] affected 1) the thematic development of the ensuing discussion and 2) the degree of personal disclosure through the sharing of personal experience narratives. In both situations examined, a qualitative change occurred in the overriding interviewer/ee role relationship. As a result, Z assumed a definitive role in determining the general thematic development of each interaction. In addition, in both instances the thematic progression moved from being generalized without explicit detail or explanation[28] towards a more personal account exemplified by Z's introduction of narratives of personal experience into each interaction.[29]

Although each narrative has a distinct structural characteristic--the first being an account of past habitual action and the second of a specific event in the past--they both serve to disclose her perceptions of herself, and of the Puerto Rican community at large. The basis for analysis, therefore, lay not so much in the validity of the corresponding relationship between the structure of the narrative and a past sequence of events (Labov 1972b), but rather in situating their evaluative content and effect in interaction. My concern has been with examining what these stories have to say about the way Z experiences reality through her presentation of self in interaction and how they help to corroborate her perceived positioning in society.

I have focused upon the analysis of social (rather than structural or referential) function of narrative performance in interaction. This has been of particular importance since "(a)s a comparative, cross-cultural approach, performance theory is less concerned with the historical and contemporary goals and meanings of a performance in a particular situation..."[30] than with the characterization of the structural features and relations appropriate to each. In an effort to understand this broader social function of narrative in interaction, I asked myself the following questions about the data:

> ...what are the human purposes and needs served by these performances? In addition, to the aesthetic satisfaction of performance itself--of an expressive job done well--what are the other culture--and situation--specific desirable ends of performance?[31]

An effort was made to examine and interpret the development and social significance of each narration within the context of each social interaction. These narratives, enveloped and situated as they are in the evolving thematic development of each interaction, reflect Z's ideological understanding of herself and her cultural reality. According to Jameson (1981):

> ...ideology is not something which informs or invests symbolic production; rather the aesthetic act is itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right; with the functioning of inventing imaginary or formal "solutions" to unresolvable social contradictions."[32]

Each narrative, therefore, situated in context provides an interpretive frame (Goffman 1974, Gumperz 1982) within which to comprehend Z's social world. Upon closer exmination of both interactions, it appears that Z's primary concern is with the breakdown of two traditional Puerto Rican values (respeto/confianza) within the community. This is discerned from her characterizations of the men and youth of the community to whom she attributes this change. From her perspective, there has been a general deterioration of a cohesive sense of community in which mutual respect and high regard for women and elders is the norm. To account for this change, Z provides the following"solutions" (in Jameson's terms) for the unresolvable social contradictions in her life.

She interprets the social changes occurring within the Puerto Rican community from a static, a-historical, and homogenous conceptualization of Puerto Rican society and culture. Z romanticizes conditions and behavioral norms of the past (e.g. in the past, conditions were better in the community because it consisted primarily of elders who sustained a traditional value system).[33]

At the same time, she disregards the social and historical factors (e.g. migration, political and economic relationship of Puerto Ricans to the larger U.S. society, unemployment, discrimination, etc.) which have affected the cultural and social life (e.g. value system, family structure, community structure and relationship to other ethnic groups, language use, etc.) of the community over time.

Consequently, for Z, the locus of social and cultural change is the individual. Individuals become the focus of cultural continuity or discontinuity of the community. She dichotomizes the actions and behavior of men and youth of the community (the instigators of social change) with that of the women and elders (the bearers of tradition).

Z makes efforts to live up to a traditional ideal, (e.g. promote an image of a 'nice', 'respectable' Puerto Rican woman" despite the contradictions which arise in her personal life to make this difficult (e.g. the need to have to support herself economically and to find work out of the mainstream of society, given the limitations of welfare and the fact that she does not have the traditionally expected male provider in her household). Z excludes from her presentation the role of women as active agents of social change in the community despite her role as a single mother, head of household, and occasional worker. She projects an image of women as victims of the community who,no longer respected and protected by their youth or men, are subjected to acts of violence and indignity. Finally, given a community which she perceives as being out of social control and as powerless in regulating itself, Z finds solace in leaving El Barrio to live and work yet sustains her ties with the neighborhood given her mother's presence there.

Through this interpretive analysis of the thematic and narrative development of these two interactions it has been my aim to illuminate those social/cultural issues which, from the perspective of a particular Puerto Rican woman, are meaningful in her life. The complex and contradictory manner in which she presents herself and her life experiences to others points to the need to juxtapose what people say with what they do so that the contradictions in their lives are illuminated and considered in one's interpretation of their social behavior. This analysis illustrates the discrepancies which can exist between individual social consciousness and actual behavior. This is of particular importance when examining stories in social interaction, for it shows the need to contextualize narrative performance in order to understand the social significance conveyed. When analyzed in interaction, narratives can help to uncover the social frame of understanding which characterizes community consciousness among individual members.

This study has attempted to situate narrative analysis within social interaction and to begin to explore its social function and meaning within a broader social framework than that provided in traditional quantitative sociolinguistics studies of narrative. My hope is that the material presented here has provided food for thought and will stimulate further research developments in this area.

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[1] The author is currently working on a dissertation in linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania entitled Narrative Performance in Conversational Interaction: Social Function and Social Meaning.

[2] See Z's responses to the following questions of the Language Attitude Survey Questionnaire (LPTF 1977):

58.b , 58.e
59.a
72.1, 72.2, 74
82,88
90.1, 90.2, 96, 97, 98
112, 113, 115, 116

[3] The adverbial *even* in this sentence notes the contribution of additive information to what is already known about bars. See Quirk and Greenbaum (1978:211, 212) for further discussion of additive adjuncts in sentences.

[4] According to Pedraza (personal communication), Z had moved to New Jersey during that time following her break up with the father of her children.

[5] One's monthly allotment on welfare is minimal. This does not allow for one to have enough money left over to save for any major purchase. Welfare,even if they wanted to in fact, does not allow recipients to save their money nor to hold a job. Consequently, Z took a job temporarily off the books to take care of buying her furniture.

[6] Using the Language Attitude Survey Quesionnaire (LPTF 1977), each sister was asked the following questions:

#10. Do you get a chance to read the newspaper? Which?

#11. Do you ever read anything else? What?

[7] It is frequently said, 'Hay que darse a respetar antes de ser respetado', alternatively, 'El que no se da a respetar, no lo respetan' - one must evidence proper demeanor, show oneself worthy of being respected before another will defer to him; he who shows no

> respect will not receive it.
> (Lauria 1964:3)

[8] Lauria (1964: 2,7)

[9] The definition of story (referring to personal narrative) used in this context includes more than Labov's 1972b characterization of narrative. In Labov's definition oral narratives of personal experience refer to the recapitulation of a past (punctual) sequence of events. According to Labov (1972b:360):

> Narrative, then, is only one way of recapitulating this past experience: the clauses are characteristically ordered in temporal sequence; if narrative clauses are reversed, the inferred temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation is altered...

In this study we include narratives of personal experience which, structured from the point of view of the speaker, recapitulate a sequence of past events which may be both of a habitual or punctual nature and considered to be of social significance (have evaluative import) to the speaker.

The story referred to here alludes to the retelling of a series of habitual actions in the past which Z recounts in discussing her work experience. Since she raises and introduces the story herself (without P's elicitation), it may be considered to be from her perspective a reportable (i.e. worth re-telling) sequence of events of social significance to her.

For further discussion of the structural, temporal and evaluative characteristics of oral narratives, see Labov 1972b; Goffman 1974; Wolfson 1976, 1978; Schiffren, 1978; Polanyi 1979; Rosaldo 1982.

[10] Z has moved several times in the period that Pedro has known her. She has moved from El Barrio → New Jersey → El Barrio → Bronx → New Jersey.

[11] The block being referred to is located in East Harlem.

[12] See Wolfson (1976) for a discussion of the interview as a speech event with rules for comportment which sustain a limited, hierarchical relationship between interviewer/ee.

[13] This shift in the relationship between Pedro and Zoraida may be characterized as a change in 'footing'. According to Goffman (1981:128):

> A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events. ...participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of natural talk.

[14] Z was not the only person who saw the removal of the precinct as a general turning point for the worse on the block. Many other residents shared her feelings. (Personal communication with Pedro Pedraza and Alicia Pousada).

[15] By 'unevaluated' we are referring to the fact that Z fails to provide an explicit explanation of the basis of her dislike of the people on the block.

[16] Narratives of vicarious experience refer to the retelling of non-first person (third person) accounts by a speaker. Labov (1972b: 367) states that vicarious experience narratives:

> ...begin in the middle of things without any orientation section; pronominal reference is in many ways ambiguous and obscure throughout "and"... none of the remarkable events that occur is evaluated.

[17] By continuous iterative action is meant the occurrence of a series of consecutive events, rather than of a singular event, over an extended period of time. The nature of the events (coming down the stairs, the

dripping of blood, sustained yelling) is such that they would terminate eventually rather than continue on continuously as habitual acts. See Labov (1972b: 387) for further discussion.

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According to Wolfson (1978:216):

> "The function of narrative performance is to structure the experience from the point of view of the speaker and to dramatize it. We can give an operational definition of performed stories based on certain structural features which are common to all. The number of performance features present in any one story and the amount with which each is used will determine the degree to which the story may be said to be performed. We do not expect to find everyone of these features present in any one story, but rather we find that at least some of them are present in all: (1) Direct Speech, (2) Asides, (3) Repetition, (4) Expressive sounds, (5) Sound Effects, (6) Motions and gestures.

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This discussion makes reference to the structural components characterized by Labov & Waletsky (1967) and Labov (1972b) for extended narratives which include:

1) Abstract: A general statement of the proposition the narrative will exemplify located at the beginning of the narrative,
2) Orientation: Those descriptive clauses which refer to time, place, persons, and behavior and contextualize the narrative sequence.
3) Complicating action: A verbal sequence of clauses (narrative) which correspond to a past sequence of events.
4) Evaluation: Non-narrative clauses which indicate the point of view of the narrator.
5) Resolution: Narrative clauses which conclude a sequence of events.
6) Coda: non-narrative clauses which bridge the end of the narrative with the moment of speaking.

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See Wolfson (1978) for a discussion of the relationship between interviewer/ee with shared ethnic identity/ background knowledge and narrative performance in the interview setting.

[21] Boissevain (1973:vii.)

[22] By roles we refer to regularly enacted modes of behavior associated with a social position and defined through shared expectations.

[23] We define conversation as "the everyday situation in which two or more people address each other for a period of time, communicating something about themselves and their experience in the process." (Labov and Fanshel 1977:1)

[24] Boissevain (1973: vii.)

[25] Boissevain (1973:viii.)

[26] Fine and Kleinman (1983:100).

[27] "Relationships provide individuals with opportunities for exercising power or control over their environment... By looking at relationships as areas for the achievement of social ends, interactionists can examine the interactional components of power and the mobilization of resources." (Fine and Kleinman 1983:106)

[28] In the first interaction, given the non-hierarchical relationship established, Z was more freely able to redirect P's questioning procedures by introducing and

developing a new topic for discussion (work as a barmaid in Newark). In the second, Z's recognition of P's shared background knowledge about the community and consequent solidary relationship to it (i.e. his challenge to her statements about the community reflected that his observations were from the perspective of an insider vs a temporary outside observer e.g. research investigator) contribute to the development of a more personal relationship between them even within a more structured (question-answer fromat) interview setting.

[29] In the first interaction, Z introduces (without elicitation) the story about the dog in the bar as illustrative of the contrast between New York and New Jersey bars. In the second, she lays the groundwork for discussion of violence in her mother's building. This functions as a preface (Sacks 1974) i.e. an offer or request to tell a story) to which P responds with an elicitation for greater elaboration. According to Goodwin (1978:373):

> These responses to the preface request that the events described in the prior utterance be elaborated upon and thus indicate or grant permission for talk about the topic raised. They ask "Why?" "What happened?" and "For what?"

Z responds to P's request with a narrative characterizing her mother's experience.

[30] Limón (1983:205)

[31] Limón (1983:206)

[32] Jameson (1981:79)

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From this perspective, a traditional value system (e.g. Puerto Rican) is juxtaposed to a non-traditional value system (e.g U.S.) in which each is assumed to be in a state of homeostasis. Contradictions in expected 'norms of behavior' get resolved by being categorically associated with particular subgroups of the community. Consequently, the conflicting heterogeneous behavior of individual members--the result of their material social, historical, and economic reality--become subsumed within a conglomerate of normative and homogeneous ideals which no longer have a material base in contemporary social relations (e.g. traditional 'norms of behavior', Spanish=Puerto Rican identity; English=U.S.) and may be used to exclude people from authentic in-group membership (e.g. Puerto Rican vs. American).

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POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF DISCOURSE: CONSCIOUSNESS AND LITERACY IN A PUERTO RICAN NEIGHBORHOOD IN EAST HARLEM

Adrian T. Bennett and Pedro Pedraza

In a recent report on the American high school, Ernest Boyer (1983) suggests that:

> Clear writing leads to clear thinking; clear thinking is the basis of clear writing. Perhaps more than any other form of communication, writing holds us responsible for our words and ultimately makes us more thoughtful human beings.

It is not uncommon for such general surveys of education to present the connection between literacy and thinking as relatively direct, even to the point of assuming that good writing produces critical awareness (e.g., Adler 1982, Illich 1971, National Commission 1983). This view might be considered part of a prevalent ideology in U.S. society, one that began to take shape in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, as Heath's (1981) survey of grammar and composition texts of the period indicates:

> The strong implication was that those who wrote and criticized well had more intelligence, morality, and industry than did their fellow students. A class consciousness was developing on the basis of the language used and the standards of writing perpetuated in the classroom.

Nevertheless, recent research on literacy in anthropology, linguistics, cognitive psychology, history and other fields seems to validate the claim that writing and thinking are causally related. Many scholars have argued that literacy in western industrial societies has played an important role in facilitating the development of "modern" forms of consciousness, social behavior, and cultural life which contrast with those found in oral traditions and in most other literate traditions (Havelock 1963, Goody and Watt 1968, Ong 1977). In western literate societies, so the argument goes, knowledge can be treated as if it were independent of those who produce and use it. Because knowledge can be rather precisely recorded in written form, it can be treated as sets of self-contained concepts or propositions which can be examined critically according to value-free principles of logic which operate independently of specific social contexts. Statements judged valid according to such criteria can then pass into the growing stock of recorded knowledge.

The technologies of writing and print (and now of computer "literacies"), according to this view, have produced societies vastly different from more "traditional" societies, such as the tribal and agrarian societies which were on the peripheries of expanding western empires. For example, education moved away from such personally involving relationships as master and neophyte, or equally powerful ritual experiences such as puberty rites where what is learned is carefully integrated with the very being of the learner. This is replaced with a "separation of the knower from the known," and an "autonomous, self-governing personality" is constructed, "symbolized as the power to think, to calculate, to cogitate, and to know, in total distinction from the capacity to see, to hear, and to feel" (Havelock 1963). The job of education, certainly in modern times, becomes the transmission of a body of objective knowledge by first teaching the young the "basics" of literacy, then guiding them through the appropriate written texts which contain that knowledge, and finally--for an elite few at least--encouraging the development of critical (text-analytical) skills.

As literacy spread in western societies, new forms of oral communication influenced by literacy evolved which also affected education. As Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1981) suggest,

> With the growth of mass communication and the increasing need for communicating with individuals who differ in culture and home background, culturally neutral styles of speaking have evolved for use in instruction giving, public lectures, broadcasting and classroom lectures and similar instrumental tasks. These oral styles have taken on many of the characteristics of...modern written descriptive prose and have thus become distinct from the home languages.

Formal education in western societies thus involves a gradual inculcation of such "culturally neutral styles" along with the criteria of truth, clarity and impersonal social relations which go with developing skills in what Scribner and Cole (1978) have dubbed "essayist literacy." Much of the social science research on literacy, which has grown prodigiously in the last ten years, has concerned itself with describing differences between "home" and "school" cultures. Recognizing that learning to read and write involve acquiring new communicative skills, Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1981) suggest that

> The transition from the child's culture at home...where the child has learnt to make sense and achieve social actions within his/her own communicative system, requires a change of communicative understanding for all children...

Anthropological research has shown that oral styles, as well as the uses, forms and functions of literacy, can vary socially and culturally (v. for example, Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Blount and Sanches 1975, Goody 1968, Whiteman 1981).

It has been argued that for certain social groups such differences can clash with the demands of schooling. For example, Heath (1983) found considerable variation in the forms and uses of literacy in a ten-year study of three Carolina Piedmont communities. "Maintowners," consisting largely of middle class white professionals, had high skills in essayist literacy. The working-class whites of "Roadville" valued literacy skills highly, yet they did not use the written word very much for communicative purposes more complicated than shopping lists, telephone messages, or reading storybooks to very young children. The working-class Blacks of Tracton did not place the same high value on essayist literacy skills as their white counterparts in the other two communities, and they disapproved of those who consumed print in isolation from others. On the other hand, they often used written materials--letters, recipes, directions for operating and repairing appliances, etc.--as a basis for interpersonal, oral interaction.

Heath suggests that these differences help account for differential school success of children from the three communities. Maintown children are comparatively successful. Roadville children start out well, but begin to lag in the intermediate grades, and

Tracton Black children tend to do poorly from the beginning. Heath argues that these differences are accounted for by different communicative patterns revolving around the uses of literacy. In particular, Roadville children have been carefully instructed by parents in skills that are emphasized in the first few grades--naming things, and providing factual information in response to questions. Tracton children, on the other hand, have fairly well-developed skills in comparing, analyzing, and making inferences from limited sources of information, but are not given a chance to use these skills until the middle grades. The emphasis on minutiae and on providing factual responses in early literacy training in the early grades turn them off from formal instruction. On the other hand, Roadville children find it difficult to make the transition from these "basic" skills to the more "sophisticated" inferential skills called upon in the later grades.

Heath, and others who have focused on descriptions of cultural and communicative differences between the school and home communities (e.g., Scollon and Scollon 1981, Michaels 1982) suggest that educators need to be aware of such differences in designing curricula and in developing classroom practices that can mediate between the expectations children form at home and the demands of schooling.

In carrying out research on the discourse of Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, New York, we expected to uncover communicative patterns that might be sources of conflict in schooling and that could help account for a dropout rate of 80% by grade 12 (Aspira 1983). Our previous work in this community, known as "El Barrio" among residents, involved several years of study and included ethnographic observations, attitude surveys and sociolinguistic studies (LPTF 1983). Communicative networks of the residents in a one-block area were delineated; members' interactions in a variety of formal and informal situations were observed and taped; attitudes toward language, ethnicity, schooling and other concerns were surveyed; and sociolinguistic studies of codeswitching and other linguistic variables were conducted.

The community dates back to the 1920s and extends over a thirty-block area on the upper east side of Manhattan. There about 180,000 residents, of which over half are Hispanic (mostly Puerto Rican), while most of the remainder are Black. El Barrio is an important cultural and political center for the 1,400,000 Hispanics in the city. It is a viable community, both culturally and linguistically, despite extensive poverty and a consistently high unemployment rate of about 25%. Puerto Ricans value their ethnic identity highly and have high aspirations for their children's education.

Language use is highly variable, involving Spanish, English and codeswitching, but there is no evidence that Spanish is dying out or being "taken over" or "corrupted" by English.
It has been maintained, notably by Fishman (1971), that bilingual situations are unstable when separation of the two languages into separate domains of usage--such as home vs. public settings--

is not maintained:

> Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other. (Fishman 1971)

Yet we found that many speakers use both languages for all types of communication:

> It is even the case that for many the simultaneous use of both languages in the same discourse setting, conversation, and utterance is not unusual. In fact, it may be the most appropriate type of speech behavior a member of the community can exhibit in very informal public settings... It is obvious to us, therefore, that the lack of functional compartmentalization of the languages of a bilingual community can coexist with language maintenance. In fact, language shift (in terms of changing relative proficiency) and language maintenance are found together in this Puerto Rican neighborhood...but no diglossia. (Pedraza and Attinasi 1980).

Thus, it was evident from our studies that language, and other cultural practices could not be explained either in terms of individual psychology, but rather must be "understood as a reflection of the social history and conditions of the community" (LPTF 1980), and as the community's response to that history and those conditions.

This work has given direction to our current research on the communicative patterns of Puerto Ricans in El Barrio. But in addition to communicative patterns we have become increasingly interested in the relationship between these patterns and consciousness. We are exploring ways of understanding language use as communicative practices which Puerto Ricans have evolved in response to changing social, political and economic conditions.

Puerto Rican ways of speaking may well pattern differently than "school language," yet viewing them as practices constructed in response to historical forces might provide better insight into such chronic and pervasive social problems as school failure. From this perspective, an understanding of Puerto Ricans' own understandings of historical conditions might well be critical.

We did in fact find interesting features of Puerto Rican communicative patterns which seem to reflect different standards of reasoning and truth and which reflect other forms of social relationships than those fostered by the pedagogy of essayist literacy in the schools. But having found such differences, we were not sure of how to interpret them. We were unconvinced of the adequacy of the cultural and communicative differences theory of school failure and of other forms of social oppression. To illustrate why we drew these conclusions, and at the same time to exemplify our approach to discourse analysis as it has evolved to this point, we discuss a brief segment of tape recorded conversation involving three male residents, one a researcher, engaged in casual talk as they sit on a stoop watching the street scene. The appended transcript (translated from Spanish into English) contains certain interesting differences in the talk of two of the men, "Edmundo" and "Carlos," relating to essayist literacy. We will indicate some differences in their communicative patterns as revealed by preliminary analysis, then discuss the limits of that analysis, and finally attempt a reanalysis that raises questions about the consciousness of Edmundo and Carlos by considering their discourse as practices that respond to historical conditions.

We focus first on Edmundo's and Carlos' argument styles. They can be seen countering one another's viewpoints in turns 7-19 and 35-44 over two focal issues: (1) What makes a person worth something, and (2) How are mothers to be defined or categorized.

Their methods of argument differ. Carlos repeatedly uses dichos ("sayings") which have symbolic implications. With Raymond Williams (1977) we might call this strategy a "cultural residue," as it makes reference to a bygone era when Puerto Rico was primarily an agrarian society, and uses a communicative strategy associated with that society. An example is turn 36, where he says, "Even the yautía plant loves her children," to support his point that mothers have a special relationship to their children grounded in nature. Therefore, it can be taken for granted that when he says "Damn all women," (T.28) he does not intend to include mothers. Again, Carlos often identifies himself with aspects of the natural world. For example, in turn 19 he compares himself to the morivivi plant of Puerto Rico which, when touched droops and seems to die, but gradually revives itself: "I always live like the morivivi." Carlos uses symbolic expressions like this to make points, to bolster arguments, and to evoke a personal identification with traditional aspects of Puerto Rican society.

In each of these examples, the speaker relies on the listener to make the right connections to shared cultural knowledge in order to draw the correct inferences. These inferences are steps in an argument, but their propositional content is left implicit, while the dicho is used to foreground an image, a metaphor or a story.

Edmundo also sometimes evokes the authority of tradition through the use of dichos, as when he says "Even Christ said, 'Why do you cry woman?'" (T. 42), to support his contention that mothers are women too. That is, even Christ called his own archetypal mother a woman. Therefore, if you say "Damn all women," you are saying "Damn mothers" too. (It is incidentally, at such points that the tongue-in-cheek, almost facetious quality of the argument becomes evident.) But Edmundo exhibits another mode of argument in his response to Carlos' reference to the yautia plant: "Well then, if a mother can be like that, how can you say 'Damm all women'?" (T. 38). Here his approach is to quote Carlos' earlier statement in order to foreground a logical inconsistency with a later proposition that Edmundo makes explicit in Turn 40: "Look what an avocado you are, they loved you, watched over you, when you were little." This use of logical analysis, supported by the rule that two contradictory statements cannot both be true, is a feature of Edmundo's argument repertoire that Carlos does not resort to in this interaction.

The extent to which these differences represent differences in the communicative repertoires of Edmundo and Carlos cannot be adequately determined from one small segment of talk such as this. However, Pedraza's interaction over a long period of time with Edmundo and Carlos suggests that such differences persist over many kinds of interactional situations.

How can we interpret and understand these differences? We can note that Edmundo has some command of the same criteria of logic and impersonal evaluation of assertions that researchers have reported as characteristic of essayist literacy. When we compare his background with Carlos' we are not surprised to find important differences: Edmundo has lived in New York since he was a young child, attended school up to 12th grade, is bilingual, and is employed in a skilled job in a hospital. Carlos came to New York in his teens, has had several kinds of unskilled labor jobs, and had been unemployed for over a year. His education was limited to primary school and he is Spanish dominant. This type of information, if supplemented by more ethnography and analysis, can be very useful to teachers. Several specific insights that emerge from our research could assist teachers in understanding communicative and other cultural differences between Puerto Ricans and "mainstream" or middle-class Anglos:

(1) We could show teachers that some Puerto Ricans use metaphoric, personal and symbolic styles of expressing ideas and supporting points of view. We could add, from our other work,

that personal narratives (a form Carlos uses later on in the tape) are also an important resource because they imply access to the authenticity of having "been there."

(2) We could also show teachers that there is important variation in the community: there is not one "Puerto Rican," as the differences between Edmundo and Carlos demonstrate, and teachers should be aware of the dangers of stereotyping.

(3) We could demonstrate too that literacy can influence oral styles, and that Puerto Ricans show differential access, or at least reliance on, essayist literacy styles in their spoken discourse.

(4) And finally, we could inform teachers that these are not so much phenomena of code--e.g., Spanish versus English-- but of discourse, and of communicative practices that can occur in either language.

We feel it is valuable for teachers to have such information. We also feel such is not enough.

There are two main problems with the cultural differences approach to the explanation and correction of school failure and social inequality. First, there are theoretical problems in the absence of explanatory theories. If literacy has taken different forms in different social groups--many of which have been in direct and frequent contact--how did this come about? How are particular relations between written and oral modes developed? How are certain configurations of form, function, means of transmission and reproduction, and social uses of literacy produced in different societies over time? How is this process of production related to other social and historical processes, such as the production and maintenance of particular divisions of power, labor, economic resources, knowledge, skills, ideology and interests?

Second, there is a practical problem regarding the application of research on cultrual and communicative differences to specific social problems such as educational inequities. In a society in which certain social groups exert power over and exploit certain other social groups, how can the awareness of cultural differences result in changes in power relations between exploiters and exploited? Those who have treated the cultural contexts of literacy have tended to portray societies as homogeneous, self maintaining and independent systems, and they have portrayed cultures--to quote Eric Wolf--"As integrated totalities in which each part contributes to the maintenance of an organized, autonomous, and enduring whole" (Wolf 1982). This cultural relativism has its counterpart in a political practice that fosters pluralistic idealism. The basic social structure dividing haves and have nots can remain untouched, although a few individuals of high skill will be able to move up the social scale.

There is, however, an alternative view of culture as an ongoing social process of constructing, dismantling, and reconstructing meanings in response to developing social, political and economic conditions. The ability to bestow meanings-- to construct the categories through which we perceive, understand, and evaluate social reality--is itself a source of power. Patterns of culture and the communicative symbolic practices by means of which culture is reproduced, can only be explained if we see them in their connections to economic and political processes. Cultural practices are in fact potential weapons in the clash of social interests in societies where differentiations of power between classes are sustained and embedded in institutions.

If we take this view of culture and communication, the description of cultural and communicative practices needs to be supplemented by asking such questions as:

> To what extent are these practices part of processes of accommodation or resistance to structural inequalities?
>
> To what extent do they reveal members' critical awareness of social contradictions that members themselves live out in their daily lives?
>
> What possibilities might there be for concerted political action among community members?
>
> How can the community address social problems as a community?

To answer such questions we need to know more than that certain patterns of expression and reasoning reflect essayist literacy traditions while others reflect oral traditions. We use the discourse data in the transcript to illustrate how such data can help answer questions like these.

We will consider now some aspects of content. Edmundo argues that mothers are like all women. For example, in Turn 34 he says, "No, she is the same woman, she has the (inaudible), she has the same, no more or no less than any other woman." Edmundo's classification of mothers is based on a modern, secular view of nature, and supercedes categorizations based on tradition, family, or community values. By contrast, Carlos argues that mothers are a special category by virtue of a special relationship through love to their children. Carlos portrays this special relationship as a natural one, characteristically using an agrarian metaphor to make his point: "Listen, even the yautía plant loves her children" (T. 37).

The views that Edmundo and Carlos express about mothers and their relationship to the superordinate category of women thus reflect different views of the natural world. Edmundo's argument depends on separating the natural from the social realms, excluding, for the purposes of his argument, the special relationship of mothers to children, or subsuming this relationship under the more general category of woman as the female of the human species. Carlos, on the other hand, builds an argument that depends on seeing nature, not independent of the social and family realms but rather as their foundation. Even the yautía loves her children. The biological relationship gives a special meaning to the social-familial one.

These alternative views of the social and natural worlds are expressed in other parts of the conversation. For example, Edmundo and Carlos also express different perspectives on the basis of human worth. Edmundo expresses, again, a more urbanized, modern view in Turns 11-13: "As for me, I'm worth a lot, my life has no price." This presupposes that one's value can be asserted on the basis of individual autonomy. Carlos, on the other hand, expresses a more complex view. First he maintains that he is worth nothing. For example, in Turn 16 he says, "If I were worth anything I would have sold myself; nobody wants to buy me." That is, in American society one's value is as a commodity that can be exhanged for money. But a few moments later, Carlos expresses a rather different viewpoint, more similar to his view of motherhood, when he says, that, although he has not been able to "do business" in selling himself, his wife, or his son, he always comes back to life and survives, like the morivivi plant which, when touched seems to collapse and die, yet springs back to life again later: "I always live like the morivivi" (T. 19). Just as motherhood is grounded in the natural world, so too is his own identity as a resilient survivor. Here again we find differences between Edmundo and Carlos, which is more information that we could pass on to teachers and other professionals who deal with Puerto Ricans as clients of institutions of various kinds.

However, Carlos is not simply expressing values, but is talking about his own social and economic positioning as a person without value. He is also providing a response that despite being positioned as powerless to earn a living, he has a resilience grounded in the close association of personal, social and natural worlds. The social positioning to which Carlos is responding is expressed in his ironic characterization of himself as valueless yet capable of surviving. This is a contradiction he lives out in his daily life. His awareness of this contradiction reflects a critical view of the commodity system in which even one's wife and children are potential commodities. Yet he also expresses his resistance through the image of the morivivi plant in his symbolic identification with nature.

Edmundo, on the other hand, asserts his individual autonomy, implying an independence from the social. Yet Edmundo is not critical of society, and in fact his individualism has certain parallels in the individualism of what many have characterized as bourgeous ideology (e.g., Gould 1978; Ollman 1971).

At this point, we might ask whether Edmundo or Carlos exhibits more critical awareness and potential for resistance. The answer is certainly not obvious. From our own point of view Edmundo appears to buy into the dominant ideology more than Carlos but he has also been more successful than Carlos in participating in the market economy by selling his labor. By contrast, Carlos shows critical awareness and even resistance. But even in his resistance there are contradictions. His identification with nature may not be adequate to cope with his peripheral position in a market economy, anymore than the agrarian idealism exemplified by Tolstoy, William Morris or Zeno-Gandía, Puerto Rican author of the novel La Charca, stopped capitalism from spreading all over the world in the last 100 years. It is even possible that Carlos's recourse to a pre-capitalist agrarian ideology while providing a refuge from the modern world, may limit his ability to participate as an active agent in that world and thereby help to sustain his peripherality, politically and economically. Edmundo may, in fact, be better equipped to deal with the dominant ideology in that his readiness to use logical criteria of truth and validity could, at least theoretically, be as easily applied to a critical analysis of dominant ideologies--as they encroach on Puerto Ricans through mass media, schooling, the job market, etc.--as to the values Carlos expresses.

As for potential resistance, we should note that Edmundo's and Carlos' ability to engage in this kind of dialogue, mixing humor and seriousness in an egalitarian relationship governed by respeto ("respect"), and called bromavera ("joking truth") by some Puerto Ricans, could itself be seen as a form of resistance, at least potentially. It certainly provides an alternative to relations based on negocios ("business") and commodity exchanges. Their skillful and thoughtful dialogue encompassing complex issues certainly goes far beyond what most middle class people would be likely to credit them with.

These speculations can return us to the relationship of literacy to consciousness and critical thinking. Clearly, it would be difficult to say the relationship is simple and direct or that a certain technological base simply results in a particular kind of awareness. Rather, we suggest that there is a relationship between literacy and thinking, and that this relationship is socially constituted. It is produced through historical processes involving struggles of ideology, power and interest. This means that human beings decide how literacy and thinking are to be related. If the relationship between essayist literacy and modern consciousness is today as researchers have reported, it is because the way we conceptualize literacy in the schools and other public institutions is part of bourgeois capitalist society. We believe there should be workable alternatives.

What we have argued touches upon issues concerning the literacy instruction of Puerto Rican children within our schools. Our understanding of what literacy entails needs to be altered from that of a set of mechanical skills to that of a social/cultural phenomenon related to other political and economic processes. Literacy always occurs within a social context. It is neither ahistorical nor static, and more than likely, it is variable. Whenever literacy activity occurs, in learning or as performance, it must be comprehended as an accomplishment embedded in other cultural processes.

Therefore we must ask our selves not only if the way we teach literacy contradicts, or ignores, community practices, but whether we are furthering the development of critical thinking, self awareness and community needs. The liberal model of pluralist education which the linguistic relativism of sociolinguistic theory supports has some very progressive features that distinguish it from conventional American pedagogy. Sociolinguists and anthropologists have significantly improved public awareness of social and cultural differences and provided an empirical basis for demanding--sometimes through litigation--greater accountability from public institutions such as the schools for provision of equitable services to minority and other disadvantaged populations (Labov 1982). The equal treatment of all students in terms of resources, curriculum, testing and social relations is a laudable ideal that social scientists should continue to support. However, from the point of view of Puerto Ricans living in El Barrio, and in similar communities both on the U.S. mainland and in Puerto Rico, some problems still remain.

Just one example: A report recently released by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES 1983) indicated that Puerto Rican high school dropouts are just as likely, or may have even a better chance, at getting jobs than Puerto Rican high school graduates. How are schools preparing students for a situation of increased competition for fewer jobs? A better understanding of communicative sources of crosscultural misunderstanding in all public sectors is certainly needed (Gumperz 1982), yet improving communication will not automatically lead to dissolution of the kinds of social, political and economic inequities that Puerto Ricans have suffered since their island was invaded by U.S. marines in 1898 (Bonilla and Campos 1981). Such inequities have been a constant in Puerto Rican life despite numerous economic programs and attempts at social, educational and political reform (HTF 1979).

We suggest that sociolinguists should expand their concern with communicative patterns to explore the hypothesis that the phenomena of unequal distribution of societal resources and cultural and communicative misunderstanding are part of the same general political and economic processes. However, an understanding of these processes and of how they impinge on communicative practices cannot be adequately developed without attention to how access to society's resources is controlled through the deployment of power and the legitimation of that deployment through subtle ideological processes. It is interesting that those who advocate making teachers and other professionals more sensitive to cultural differences, and to providing minority students with opportunities to expand their communicative repertoires, rarely address the question of how power is distributed within educational institutions, or how these institutions are themselves caught in a tissue of power relations that extends throughout U.S. society (Apple 1982; Giroux 1981).

To include a consideration of power as it is structured into institutions and into the interpersonal relations within those institutions' domains would be to expand considerably the notion of context as it has been developed in sociolinguistic and anthropological studies of communication so far. We consider the analysis provided above to be only a beginning step in this direction. We need to look more closely at how community members construct particular forms of consciousness through their ongoing daily communications with each other. We need to understand better how that consciousness, in its variability, provides members with responses to particular sociohistorical conditions as they experience them. But more than that, we need to find ways as Labov (1982) advocates, to build commitment into "all stages of...research." We suggest that the best way to do this is to develop better ways to work cooperatively with those who participate in institutional processes such as schooling. Anthropologists have recently made considerable efforts to work cooperatively with professionals (Gilmore and Smith 1982; Heath 1983). We believe that, if the interests of the community are to be served, we must in addition find ways to work within the community, basing our conceptions of education and literacy in the needs and interests of the community as defined through cooperative efforts between researchers and community members. If researchers engage in such a process through their research itself, they may well find themselves committed to using their knowledge to help change existing structures of power.

Appendix

Transcript. Tape B14

(Examples discussed in the text are italicized)

Key

[ ] = overlapping speech
( ) = not transcribable
(words) = unclear, transcriber's guess

1. Pablo: and, and, and of and those five feet three inches
how much do you think its worth

/3 secs./

2. Edmundo: (three) P. (laughs)

3. Carlos: To myself, to myself I'm not worth anything. The
purpose is that after I die they bring me back to
life.

/2 secs./

4. C: [And]
5. E: [Live] in the eyes, in the eyes of another person
in a kidney...a heart.

6. C: But I'll live

7. P: But how much of this guy do you think is even worth
the trouble

8. E: About that [I don't know]
9. C: [not worth anything] not worth anything
[not worth anything]
10. E: [I don't tease]
anyone so that they don't tease me

11. C: The truth is that its not worth [anything, the head] (of a
12. E: [for ( )] *a*
for me, I'm worth a lot

13. C: No, I'm not worth anything because if I were valuable
I would have sold [myself]
14. E: [(my)] *my life has no price*

15. E: Eh?

16. C: If I were worth something I would have sold myself, nobody wants to (buy me)

17. P: (laughs)

18. E: Not even

19. I I was selling my wife and child and no one wanted to buy. I sell myself and even less are they willing to buy... so what am I to do if I can't sell. If I can't sell I can't do business but even though I always live like the "morivivi."

20. ?: ( )

21. E: Oh Damn

22. P: He's hurt, he's hurt

23. E: Oh, he hit his chest when he fell.

24. C: Well check him to make sure he hasn't broken his chest or heart.
?: No, his heart he didn't break because...

25. E: No, he needs a woman.

26. C: Eh?

27. E: When the heart is broken it has to be a woman.

28. C: Damn all women, man.

29. E: Man, what do you mean, if it wasn't for a woman I wouldn't be here.

30. P: That's true, _______.

31. C: Yes, but that's a different type of woman...

32. E: She's a woman like any other. No, she's the same type of woman, she has

33. C: ...from the type of woman I'm referring to ( )

34. E: ...She has the same, she has no more or no less than any other woman

35. C: ( ) its not its not
: it's not the same because a, a, a mother

36. E: only, only, a label

a title tells you [mother]

37. C: [listen] even the "yautía" loves her children

38: E: Well then, if a mother can be like that how can you say damn all women.

39. C: Because when you [take

40. E: Look what] an avocado you are they loved you,

[watched over you] when you [were little] (right)

41. C: [listen listen] to me [listen yes] but,

: that, that is a different type of woman, [one's] mother

42. E: [( )] she's a woman

: [even, even,] Christ said to his mother: "Why do you cry woman?"

43. C: [compared to] the others

/3 secs./

44. C: ( ) she had to cry, right, it was her son.

45. E: [But] she was a woman

46. C: [Now] now if it were a lover.

47. E: Perhaps [she'll still cry

48. C: or if it were]

49. E: [Maybe she'd cry anyway

50. C: Or if it were] a husband she didn't love, she'd cry out of [hypocrisy

51. E: Ahhh]
If it's a husband she would be happy because she would get the pension

52. C: Haven't you ever been in a situation where a woman who has lost a husband has her lover next to her and the guy tells her but let me submit the name and those papers and she crying tells him (mimics crying)"thirty three, fourty four, fifty six."

53. E: No I've never been in such a situation.

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V. Concluding remarks

It is difficult to conclude a project just when you are beginning to get somewhere with the problems at hand. In this sense, these remarks are more a short summary, a stock-taking, than a final statement closing an investigation. The issues involved are at bottom both practical (aimed at alleviating the social inequality suffered by Puerto Ricans) and theoretical (focused upon developing new understandings that can serve this objective).

Particularly in education, where systemic failure is an overwhelming, blatant, and oppressive reality, there is a great need for new perspectives on schooling. Devising an approach to language and education that can produce knowledge to address such a need demands a new theoretical framework which can function as a foundation for critical inquiry. The project reported here was not originally conceptualized in this manner; rather, the idea emerged in the interim period between the submission of the proposal and its initiation, and throughout the first year as we struggled with the issue of language and its relation to social domination.

Fundamentally, we saw the necessity of a new orientation to language studies that more fully integrated language in societal, economic, political, and cultural processes and viewed communication as a historical process. While some of the research presented in the report reflected these concerns almost from the onset, others attempted to incorporated them mid-stream with varying degrees of success, reflecting the difficulties of such an endeavor at personal, professional, and ideological levels. In fact, these comments themselves would best be understood as a reflection of a changing social science practice that will, we hope, eventually prove effective in supporting social change.

What do we know now that we did not know before which could be helpful to anyone concerned with school failure or societal injustice? In the past, we were involved in a sort of matching game. The match-up was between the school and community, the bilingualism of each compared in terms of form (linguistic characteristics), function (social use of language in daily interactions), and attitudes (ideology or thinking about language). The game taught us much about the mismatch between school and community, though there was still more matching to be done--in form (the study of Puerto Rican English), function (the analysis of discourse patterns), and ideology (the investigation of differences in understanding, interests, and consciousness).

In our previous work, we were not so naive as to think that the gap between the school and community would be self-explanatory in terms of cause and therefore remedy. The historical conditions that gave rise to the language differences in the first place had to be brought forward to give a perspective on the problem of school failure that went beyond the classroom. Ironically, certain conditions, like the relative powerlessness of the community, still hinder attempts to come to grips fully with the mismatch in language practices as defined above, but that is not the whole story. The real issue is how language serves to maintain the powerlessness of a community. What processes are at work that contribute to the power relations in which language is embedded? To answer these questions adequately, the "historical" could no longer simply serve as a backdrop to our language studies, thus limiting our understanding to mechanical cause and effect or correlational types of explanations.

The mismatch approach often times reveals blatant discrepancies between the school and community, as well as more subtle differences resulting from ignorance or prejudice. In the project reported here, our attempt to refine the mismatch approach focused on certain structural "levels" of language (for example, the English vowel system or the Spanish and English prosodic systems). This was only partially true for our discourse analysis, where we were not merely seeking differences in interactional patterns, again a structural mismatch, but also differences in terms of content, i.e. values, interests, and orientation to life, raising in the process the problematic of the inter-relationships between language, culture, ideology, and consciousness. However, even at the level of what we have come to call "language code", there are complications in the matching game which reveal the weaknesses of the approach.

All of the essays included here point out the variation that exists in language regardless of level. The beginning essay treats the issue of variation and its significance at length. The vowel system study reveals (again) the linguistic heterogeneity we have seen in the Puerto Rican community, and the failure to isolate any systematic patterning of prosodic features documents once more the complex relationship between form, function, and meaning.

By some standards, such results would be considered at worst to be no findings at all, or at best to be of no utility. What is pertinent here is that in a match-up game, information of this sort may be interpreted as revealing little about the problem of school failure, given the lack of a Puerto Rican standard (or non-standard) form on which to base a comparison. However, the work in this report not only calls into question (or perhaps lays to rest) the assumptions about the monolithic nature of Puerto Rican language and culture; it also bares the essential weakness of treating language outside of socio-economic, political, and cultural processes.

The existence of such diversity can signify that Puerto Rican students are not all equally disadvantaged in terms of linguistic forms or repertoires as measured by structural characteristics. The 80% drop-out rate for all Puerto Rican students reported in a recent study (Aspira 1983) indicates that other factors somehow related to language may be the real culprits. Can it be that the processes which can account for the diversity may also explain school failure?

How could one begin to explore the possible interconnection between language, cultural diversity and school failure that linguistic differences in and of themselves cannot explain? (The public schools in Puerto Rico are also notoriously unsuccessful even though they teach in Spanish).

The first essay in the discourse section of the report attempts to delineate a clear philosophical/methodological base from which to approach this problem. The two papers actually analyzing samples of discourse draw out the importance of contextualizing, for purposes of interpretation and analysis, the conversation of community members within specific historical, social, and cultural parameters. In this work, as we begin to touch upon the cultural and ideological underpinnings of consciousness, we are again reminded of the complexity of the community. The cultural variation reflected in linguistic features is also apparent in the discourse practices of community members and, by implication, their consciousness.

In the matching game, the reasons for the differences between school and community in either language are usually not given, nor is there an explanation for why the differences persist, nor more importantly, why they function to the detriment of certain students. Since the situation is the result of factors beyond the control of any individual, the schools do not address them. The strategy is usually to rememdy the individual by adding something to his "cultural capital" in terms of linguistic repertoire, i.e. standard forms of English or Spanish, language skills such as literacy, or cognitive abilities, like "clear" thinking.

The liberal pluralistic ideology upon which this matching model is based definitely has some progressive features. The sensitivity to linguistic and cultural norms that demand respect and knowledge of minority students' backgrounds fits well with the child-centered pedagogy of progressive education. However, this approach treats the product--marginalized individuals--and not the process. Individuals outside of a socio-historical context are the focus, not community needs. This inhibits inquiry on the institution of schooling itself and ends up blaming the victim if failure persists, precisely the conclusion which the cultural differences approach set out to avoid.

An approach to the community and to language that views these as phenomena produced and continuously reproduced by human agents in concert raises questions about the socio-historical nature of community. Any conceptualization of community will to a large extent, either explicitly or implicitly, influence how the interests of that community are viewed. The concept 'community' is not a neutral category and discerning the interests of any particular one is problematical for at least two reasons: 1) interests may vary within a community and 2) those interests are not static but change over time. Given that pre-conceptions will always influence any interaction with a community, be it by educators or investigators, a clear statement of purpose or goals can function as the basis for debate about interests. This has implications for education policy and pedagogy.

A school that purports to deal with the socio-cultural and language differences that students bring to classrooms by treating students as isolated individuals is contradicting its purpose if it does not examine why differences work as a disadvantage.

Besides identifying mismatches between school and community in linguistic form and function, viewing language as a socio-cultural practice embedded in daily discourse can lead to insights concerning these contradictions. Certainly the interests of the community are not served when pedagogical practice treats the language issue only on an individual level. Tying language to cultural and ideological processes not only reveals ways in which institutions like schools contribute to the domination of a community, but also how variation within the community may be hindering advancement. The discourse papers certainly demonstrate some significant differences in what we might call the consciousness of members of the community.

Any understanding of the variation in consciousness found within the community, e.g. why it exists, will contribute to overcoming obstacles in organizing efforts. Schools can play an important role in a process of community empowerment, but they cannot make a contribution if they do not consciously articulate and accept this goal or if they ignore the problems/issues it reaises. Language and education policy at present do not reflect such a concern mainly because they do not consider important the socio-historical processes that interconnect with and tie language and education together.

These remarks may seem to many to have little to do with language and education per se and much to do with 'extraneous' factors like history, society, culture, and ideology. But this is precisely the point--a new theoretical framework means viewing these not as 'extraneous' factors but as defining the nature of our problem and therefore the solution. It is worth stating once more that even this does not solve anything. It is only a beginning. New forms of research and pedagogical practice are required.

A new social science practice would involve an alternative model of research that would incorporate within any study design participation of the actors involved, some form of intervention and evaluation of practice, and some connection to community organizations or movements addressing the issues, or some form of accountability. These are not necessarily new items on the agenda for the Centro or even many individual researchers, nor is it a question of priorities, but one of process. Rather than viewing these as separate tasks, isolated or interconnected, the best approach is perhaps to view them as different aspects of an integrated process.

We seem to have a tremendous amount of difficulty even conceptualizing what this would mean on an everyday level. In order to change the investigative process, we first have to re-construct the research community. Research with and for communities rather than on them (no matter how well-intentioned) should be the aim.

Among other things, such an effort means engaging persons in debate who come with different outlooks, agendas, practices, and connections to social policy but who share the same goals of equality and justice. However, in order for meaningful dialogue to occur, trusting relationships have to exist between the various participants in the discussion as well as a sense of commitment to purposeful activity aimed at social change. Social scientists (both individually and collectively) have to work at developing these relationships and commitments, as an integral part of the investigative process.

This presumes that researchers have themselves engaged in dialogues about the shortcomings of social science vis-a-vis the goals of equality and justice, and are in fact organized to function as a collective in collaboration with other organizations. This is far from the case.

As noted in the first paper on discourse analysis, one obtatacle to developing such practices is the academic institutions and professional asssociations with which researchers work. Various solutions to the problem exist, including creating alternative institutions or transforming existing ones so that their advantageous position as legitimators of knowledge can be utilized to legitimate working-class and minority group understandings and concerns.

If social scientists are to play a role in the kind of shift in social policy debate we are envisioning here, the first step, it appears, should be a critical appraisal of the ways in which our thinking and discussion of issues, both theoretical and concrete, are being constrained. Issues such as how our reserach findings relate to the problems of the community need to be discussed and evaluated. As we explained earlier in this report, this is not necessarily a call for 'relevant' or 'applied' research, but for an assessment of the relation of our studies to the struggles of the disenfranchised in our society.

We need to know: 1) what assumptions are inherent in the type of questions we are posing, 2) how the concepts we utilize have evolved over time, 3) how they position us with respect to the community, and 4) what the ideological foundations of our theoretical approaches are, and whether we can defend them. These are the sorts of issues we have to delve into if we are to change our practice. And only with a drastic change in our practice can we hope to find the clarity we now lack.

APPENDIX A: Review of literature on prosody

Review of literature on prosody

The following is a review of the work done in prosody which relates directly to the different language varieties involved in the speech of New York Puerto Ricans, in particular Puerto Rican Spanish and Black English.

1.0 General descriptions of Spanish prosody

The most thorough survey of Spanish prosodic studies is that of Kvavik and Olsen (1974) These authors are principally concerned with melody or pitch variables, leaving aside questions about timing or rhythmic organization in Spanish. They focus on three aspects of intonational studies: dialectology, methods, and notational systems. Very few studies of Caribbean speakers are mentioned, with most research concentrated on Spanish of Spain, Mexico, or the cono sur--Argentina and Chile. Methods have primarily been observational, althoughas early as 1918, some acoustic measures were made. Among the notational systems, a wide variety of techniques were observed, from musical notes to holistic contours. However, many analysts since the 1950's have tended to rely in their prosodic investigations (at least in part) on the numerical pitch levels of Pike (1945) or Trager and Smith (1951), which were developed in structural analyses of American English.

Navarro Tomás (1918, 1944, 1948) wrote the classical treatments of Spanish intonation, to which nearly all later analysts refer. The speech described was usually the careful, andante style of Peninsular speakers, often in performance of literacy texts. Navarro developed a typology of five basic contours, two falling, two rising, and one level. Although these contours are in some ways similar to the tunes ascribed to British English, Navarro pointed out an important difference (translation mine) "the English falling-rising toneme is one of the traces of intonation which is most easily detected in those... who are learning Spanish" (1966 edition of Navarro 1944, 70-71). In his intonation manual, Navarro devoted a substantial section to the 'emotive' content of intonation, in addition to its phonological function.

Stockwell, Bowen, and Silva-Fuenzalida (1956) as well as Stockwell & Bowen (1965) are probably the second most-cited works on Spanish prosody. Their theoretical orientation was the structuralist Smith-Trager model; thus, they discovered in Spanish three pitch phonemes, three levels of stress, and three distinctive terminal contours (rise, fall, level). Besides their treatment of phonemic contrasts in Spanish suprasegmentals, they described several shades of meaning or emotion which could be conveyed by particular (mis-) uses of intonation. A principal claim was that Spanish uses (in general) a more restricted intonational (pitch) range than does English. Emphasis may be conveyed either by expanding the difference in pitch between adjacent syllables or by contracting it (1956:664).

There are a number of other studies utilizing Smith-Trager or Pike models which cannot be discussed here. These include Cárdenas (1983), Matluck (1965), and Quilis (1975). We would also like to refer the reader to the recent analyses of Kvavik (1978, 1979, 1980) and Fontanella de Weinberg (1981) dealing with Mexican and Argentinian Spanish respectively.

The preceding discussion of some general, descriptive studies of Spanish prosody has served to delineate the 'territory' covered by such analyses. As noted in earlier surveys, descriptions differ not only in their underlying theoretical bases, but also in methods and in the geographic regions studied. In the next few paragraphs, the focus will be on treatments of Puerto Rican Spanish, again from the vantage point of general survey material.

1.1 Overview of Puerto Rican Spanish

There has been relatively little work done on the prosody of Puerto Rican Spanish. Navarro Tomás (1948) treated Puerto Rican Spanish intonation in a scant three pages, evidently believing that his earlier typology of intonational contours was generally adequate to describe this region as well.

Kvavik (1978) analyzed 49 seconds of speech from a single male Puerto Rican informant and compared acoustic displays and transcriber impressions of pitch patterns in these utterances to those of Mexican speakers. The focus of her investigation was use of fundamental frequency, or tonal differences. In comparison to the four Mexican speakers, her Puerto Rican informant used more level contours, semifalls and semirises. Also, this speaker occasionally shifted pitch-obtrusion to a position before or after the expected 'tonic syllable.' Such a shift, Kvavik believed, marked emphasis. Given the brief sampling, intonational meanings remain hypotheses and potential geographic differences are only hinted at. Nevertheless, Kvavik's is the only available acoustic analysis of fundamental frequency in Puerto Rican Spanish.

Jones (1962) prepared an analysis of Puerto Rican Spanish prosody as part of a dissertation on the English "dialect" spoken by upper middle-class Puerto Rican bilinguals on the island. This analysis uses the structural descriptions common to the Smith & Trager (1951) and Pike (1945). Thus Jones states that "there are three intonation pitches i.e., levels in Puerto

Rican Spanish..., there are three degrees of stress and four of pause i.e., juncture . Length and repetition seem to be more important...than in American English" (187).

Specific differences in intonational patterning concerned the tonal contours of questions as well as statements; by and large, Jones believed that "gliding contours" on final syllables are rare in Puerto Rican Spanish (182). In contrast to English, in which pitch obtrusion coincides with sentence "stress," Jones observed that in Puerto Rican Spanish"...stress is frequently followed by a tone peak" (185). Moreover, he found that, "the last stress in Puerto Rican Spanish utterances, exclusive of zero, is primary" (261). Although the descriptive system obscures potential contrasts somewhat, Jones' statements could be interpreted as: (1) Puerto Rican Spanish has more pitch patterns which strike 'English ears' as tonal step-ups or down-steps, rather than 'glides', (2) final contours of Spanish utterances may sometimes sound (to an English listener) as if they were "stressed" or accented.

Jones also observed that this dialect of Spanish has shorter rhythm groups than English and uses syllable-timing in its rhythmic schema.

At present, only a very general sketch of prosody is available for Puerto Rican Spanish. The most extensive of the three studies is based on linguistic methods of analysis which have been superseded; moreover, it is unclear whether the view of Puerto Rican prosody in that study might not have been influenced by the native language of the author (cf. Pointon 1980; Ladd 1980: 167).

These limited data may be supplemented to a certain extent by using more general studies which have been concerned with contrasting Spanish and English for pedagogical purposes. Among these are investigations of the English spoken by Spanish speakers, which were aimed at specifying the components of a "Spanish accent."

1.2 Contrastive analysis and accent

The most well-known of pedagogical works is Stockwell and Bowen (1965). They present a detailed contrastive analysis of English and a composite of Spanish dialects. Their analytical frame is similar to their 1956 study, i.e., a structuralist account in which pitch, stress, and juncture were treated separately. Like Jones, they interpreted "the last strong stress of the phrase (as) the most prominent..."(28). One of the difficulties they observed for English speakers acquiring Spanish was to narrow the pitch range sufficiently.

Stockwell and Bowen also give impressionistic observations on Spanish rhythm; Spanish syllables are said not be lengthened when they are stressed, which may be disconcerting to an English listener (33). "The ear of an English-speaking student, accustomed to correlating weaker stresses with shorter syllables, will receive the impression of machine-like rapidity from hearing Spanish...he misses the rather long stressed syllables that give him a chance...to catch up" (34).

Bolinger (1961) briefly contrasted Spanish and English tonal contours in a paper called "Three Analogies." Bolinger states that in a Spanish utterance with two prominent syllables, the shape of the tonal contour for the sentence looks like a suspension bridge in which the first 'pole' is usually higher than the second. In English, the second 'pole' would be higher: e.g.

wa di
English: I told him to it. VS. Spanish: Le je que espe ra
ra.

Bolinger also says that English speakers can use the intonation contour which is common for commands in English in order to approximate the Spanish declarative, "In Spanish, make your statements sound the way commands sound in English" (136).

Prosodic aspects of Chicano and Puerto Rican speakers' English have been the focus of a few studies.

The most recent, Penfield (1981), made several generalizations about Chicano speech, based on transcriptions in the southwest USA. Most of these general statements had to do with the range or shape of particular final intonational contours in Chicanos'

English. In particular, the tendency toward rising glides at the ends of sentences and on unstressed syllables has become a stereotyped Chicano intonational pattern. Penfield points out that since final sentence contours do not fall enough for Anglo listeners to get a sense of sentence completion, the rising glides are a source of misunderstanding. The glides are perceived by Anglos as indicating uncertainty while Chicano speakers use these contours for emphasis: "the more emphatic a Chicano speaker becomes, the more 'uncertain' he is perceived."

Jones (1962) used a structural 'levels' analysis to contrast Puerto Rican adults' accented English with the English of native speakers and with earlier-described Puerto Rican Spanish. The accented variety, which Jones put together from the individual data of 27 adult informants' picture descriptions, contained prosodic features of both languages. However, he stated that speakers varied in their use of prosody and that the 'distribution' of prosodic features in their speech was what set the composite 'dialect' apart (279). Gliding contours, like those of native English, occurred, as did pitch contours, with familiar English final shapes. However, some contours reflected a Spanish pattern in which the most prominent syllable is closer to the beginning of the sentence; this was especially striking in questions, in which a speaker might say,

WHAT'S TH
this? instead of: What's
IS?

Stress 'errors' also were found in a few words and full (unreduced) vowels sometimes appeared in unstressed syllables.

Nevertheless, in tonal contour as well as in rhythmic characteristics, Jones believed that this 'dialect' was more like American English than like Puerto Rican Spanish. He pointed out that "accent" seldom caused a speaker to be communicatively at a loss, and advocated a less atomistic approach to teaching of English on the basis of his findings.

A second study of Puerto Rican speakers is that of Anisman (1975), who analyzed segmental and suprasegmental features in the English of 29 teenagers in East Harlem. The principal suprasegmental variable was "syllable-timing." Syllable-timed utterances were those in which syllables "...were at least impressionistically [sic] exhibiting less durational variability..." than they would in the speech of other, native-English-speaking New Yorkers (61).

Anisman divided the informants into three groups based on the extent of Black contacts: (1) Black influenced group (extensive Black contacts) (2) limited or sporadic' Black contacts, and (3) lames. The second group used syllable-timed utterances almost twice as much as the Black influenced group in half-hour interviews, according to transcriber impressions. This usage, Anisman states, "is a distinctly non-English prosodic phenomenon and as such would be decidedly Hispano-stigmatizing" (81). However, the first two subject groups were very small in comparison to the number of 'lames' (N=20). These speakers also used few syllable-timed utterances, and it is not clear to what extent transcriber impressions about timing might have been based on segmental variation in the recordings rather than actual rhythmic patterns.

Most of the contrastive studies have been based on listeners' impressions of prosody, and speakers' familiarity with English differed considerably among them. Nevertheless, there are certain interesting common trends. Most of the studies note that it is the distribution of prosodic material (i.e. the use of familiar variables in unexpected locations or combinations) which marks an 'accent.' In addition, the studies show that acquisition of L_2 prosody is not a monolithic process and 'composite' descriptions (e.g. those of Jones and Penfield) obscure the manner in which new distributions of prosodic variables are tried out and used. Finally, given the different methods of analysis across these studies, it may be well to maintain a a certain skepticism about whether the various authors are describing the same phenomena when they use terms such as 'prominence' and 'stress' or 'syllable-timing'. While common trends across the studies point to some subtle distributional differences which could affect interactions, the actual contribution of these to meaning in context is largely unknown.

1.3 Prosody as related to syntax and pragmatics of Spanish

At this point, the general lack of studies relating Spanish prosody to other structures of the language and to pragmatic function should be mentioned as a problematical area for both single-language and contrastive studies. In Spanish as in English (cf. Ladd 1980), prosody has often been treated as "around the edge" of language - not within the structural core to be described.

Pike (1945, paraphrased by Jones 1962: 151) sums up this view, "Intonation is the musical rise and fall of the voice which indicates or carries the attitude (my emphasis) of the speaker. Thus, it is independent of lexical meaning, topic of discussion...and...grammatical facts... have no innate participation in the meaning of the contours themselves." However, recent studies of English intonation belie this view. Ladd points out that attitude may be conveyed just as surely by choice of lexicon as by intonation and that prosodic variables are integral components of utterance meaning.

For Spanish, when prosodic patterns have been considered in relation to sentence meaning, this has generally been in terms of contrasting utterance function or alternative bracketings of constituents. Stockwell & Bowen (1965) present the same utterance "Aquí viene María", noting the different prosodic patterns which would be present if María were the subject versus if this item were a vocative, or if the utterance represented a question or exclamation versus a statement. Quilis (1965) also investigated alternative phonological bracketing in a comparison of vowel coalescense in everyday, colloquial speech with that of slow, careful speech. Items cited by Quilis are those which would have been differentiated by the structuralist notion of juncture, e.g., la subas vs. las uvas or lo culto vs. lo oculto.

Contreras (1981) argues that "...both sentential stress and word order depend...on the informational structure of the sentence" in Chilean Spanish (45). He uses prosodic evidence (apparently from introspection and observation) to refute syntactic analyses which place the subject of Spanish sentence in one deep structure position and use transformations to relocate it. His basic rule for placement is a hierarchy of prominence in which "...the more informative elements (rheme) normally go at the end of the sentence and carry the main stress whereas less informative elements (theme) ...occur at the beginning of the sentence and do not carry the main stress" (50).

However, there are several difficulties with Contreras' treatment. As he acknowledges, Puerto Rican Spanish would not fit his rules for subject placement. In addition, the validity of his reference to theme and rheme would depend on how 'informative' is defined situationally and on an unambiguous definition of 'main stress'.

Silva-Corvalán (in press) also presents information on noun phrases in Chilean Spanish. According to her analysis, there are two basic ways to highlight the fact that an object noun-phrase is the focus of discourse or new information: (1) Place it before the verb and give it high tone, e.g., Effortil me dieron a mí. (2) Place it after the verb, but use an unusual, contrastive intonation pattern: abrupt rise, then fall. Apparently, the first way is much more common (p. 7-8).

Depending on the information content and intonation, the same syntactic structure can have two different functions.

1. If (1) the object noun phrase is first and (2) it represents more known information and (3) it receives the greatest intonational prominence, then this is because it is a point of contrast of discourse. If

condition (3) is not met, it is merely a cohesive link.

2. If the first two conditions are met and (3) the object noun phrase has the abrupt rise-fall intonation, the contradiction or unexpectedness of the information in it may be inferred. If condition (3) is instead a high tone, but less than the "unexpectedness" intonation, then it may be inferred that the information in this noun-phrase is new.

Silva-Corvalán concludes that Spanish word order is not free, but determined by pragmatics; intonation is also determined by pragmatic factors.

From these studies, it seems clear that much more information on discourse functions of Spanish intonation is necessary. However, frameworks for description along these lines (Coulthard & Brazil 1981; Scollon 1982) are still in the process of refinement, which will be necessary in order to specify the contribution of intonation to overall discourse.

2.0 Prosody in Black English

In studies of Black speakers, prosody has, if anything, been treated even more impressionistically than in Spanish. The data collection methods range from laboratory experiments with acoustic analysis (Hudson & Holbrook 1982) to listeners' perceptual impressions (Key et al 1977; Tarone 1973) and transcriptions (Pitts 1982) or close analysis of videotaped interactions (Erickson 1979).

Erickson showed that in inter-racial interviews, white counselors tended to over-explain to Black listeners. This tendency was at least partially explained by different expectations created by prosodic contour about the listener's contribution to a conversation. For listening responses, the rule in the Black community was something like the following (p. 117):

"As the speaker is making a point, if you hear a steep fall at the end of a phrase, or if you hear a steep fall before the phrase is ending and then a tag before the speaker becomes silent, what you should do now is some kind of listening response." (Unless these conditions are met, you need not provide a listening response). A sustained contour in itself does not necessitate a response. In contrast, the white listeners believed that a response was required in the case of either sharp falling contour or sustained contour at end of a phrase. Different interpretations of these intonational "cues" meant that the speaker and listener had opposite ideas about how the interview was proceeding.

While Erickson noted differences between Blacks and whites in interpreting intonation patterns, most studies have focussed on distinctive aspects of prosody in Blacks' produced speech. A special style often mentioned is what Pitts (1982) called 'speech song' -- a preaching style used by Black ministers. In this style, he noticed not only a call and response pattern, but also specific rhythmic and melodic contours which changed in frequency according to the sequence and structure of the sermon. Some of these features included tonal parallels accompanying lexical repetition, extra duration, and "phatics".

Key et al (1977) and Key (1975) observed what they thought were elements of Black preaching style in recorded cooperative narratives of Black children (1977: 193). Key described Black English, as spoken by these children, as 'syllable-timed with a fairly even beat" (1977: 187). However, durational differences can also be used to make syntactic distinctions; in sentences in which morphological inflections are found, Key claimed "a silent pulse-beat" disambiguates potentially homophonous sentences. Key (1975: 87) cites these examples: "He'll stop it." he (∅) stop it.
"He stopped it." he stop (∅) it.
in which the zero is manifested on the surface by a timing difference. Rhythmic patterns of such sentences should probably be examined more closely, since it is unclear what the actual phonetic correlates of a "silent pulse-beat" (like those of the structuralists' juncture) could be.

Tarone (1973) compared the intonation of Black adolescents and white adolescents in group conversations with a white woman to the recorded formal speech of a Black adult in an interview. In transcriptional analyses, one of the most interesting findings was a contradiction of earlier work by Bengt Loman (1967). Loman had reported that Black speakers used falling contours for yes-no questions, but in her informal sessions, Tarone found that level or rising contours were the rule in such questions. She attributes these intonational differences to differences in formality of the recording contexts. Apparently children do use falling contour for yes-no questions in formal contexts and white listeners interpret this as rudeness.

Other differences had to do with upper bound and range of pitch: the Black adolescents' group discussion had the widest pitch range as well as more falsetto or very high pitch.

With regard to direction of pitch change, the Black teenagers used more level or rising contours than the other speakers, whose tone patterns included mostly falling contours. Parallel pitch contours (such as those Pitts described) were used in the construction of if -then statements rather than lexical markers at the beginning of the respective clauses.

The range of pitch used by young Black adults and effects of contextual style were also investigated in a laboratory study (Hudson and Holbrook 1982). There were many more speakers than in any of the other studies in this section (100 men and 100 women). Although individuals differed, the mean values of pitch were lower for Blacks than for whites as described by previous studies. however, for reading style, the Black speakers used a larger range than that reported for white speakers. The Blacks' reading range was, in turn, less than that of their spontaneous conversation. These laboratory measures lend support to the idea that Black speakers are likely to use a wider pitch-range than whites. But this is only a measure of central tendency with which many individual factors - including the context and content of speech - doubtless interact.

The contribution of the various studies on Black English speakers is difficult to assess since they are distinct from initial conception of the problem up to the final conclusions. Although some specific contours have been mentioned which are associated with particular syntactic or ritualistic structures, a unified set of hypotheses about what "Black English influence" might be has not been forthcoming from these studies. At most, these studies suggest that further explorations of prosodic repertoire should be conducted in the Black community. Of special value would be studies which focus on contextual effects, such as those outlined in Tarone (1973), but through recordings of the same speakers in different speech events (cf. Labov, Cohen and Robbins 1968). Additional studies might bring forth more potentially misinterpretable pairings of prosody and syntactic form (like the yes/no questions in Tarone's study) which could vary according to setting.

From the preceding review, one apparent difference between Black speakers and Spanish speakers would seem to be in the range of pitch in casual conversation: descriptions of Spanish speakers point to a narrow range, while both transcription and acoustic analysis suggest that Blacks may use a wider range. However, Hudson & Holbrook (1982), whose recording conditions seem likely to have produced very closely monitored (if spontaneous) speech, report mean F_o range values for the Black speakers which are very similar to those cited as "the average range" in speech science textbooks - about an octave. Although pitch-range differences between Spanish speakers and Blacks could be tested in a laboratory experiment, in the many speech situations of daily life it may well be that what differs is not the actual pitch range, but the uses to which the same material is put, i.e., the distribution of tonal or fundamental frequency differences. Only hints of such distributional differences are currently available.

APPENDIX B. Prosodic analysis of English spoken by Puerto Ricans: An exploration of acoustic methods.

Prosodic analysis of English spoken by Puerto Ricans: A pilot exploration of acoustic methods

1.0 Introduction

From the review of the literature presented in Sections 2-4 of this paper, two parameters of interest for acoustic measurement were identified in the prosody of speakers in the Centro's taped bilingual corpus:

(1) Timing differences

(2) Differential use of fundamental frequency, or pitch.

Although the attempt to examine these in this project was unsuccessful, I include it here as illustration of the problems which present themselves in acoustic analysis of natural data.

Descriptions of Spanish speech rhythm usually state that it is syllable-timed; however, attempts to get at syllable-isochrony through acoustic measurements have yielded conflicting results, and the basic typology of stress- versus syllable-timing has been challenged (Cf. Allen & Hawkins 1980). Nevertheless, on two particular points about speech-timing, most textbook descriptions continue to say that Spanish and English have different patterns. These points concern: (a) durational differences between stressed and unstressed syllables, and (b) prepausal lengthening of syllables.

Most often cited with regard to the first point--differences due to stress-are the extensive measurements of Delattre (1966),in which a ratio of stressed to unstressed of 1.3 to 1 was reported for Spanish. Gili Gaya (1940) found that stressed syllables were about 40% longer than unstressed syllables, using like Delattre, a recorded Spanish corpus in which the segmental content varied considerably. In English recorded texts, Klatt (1976:1209) found that "the average (median) duration for a stressed vowel is about 130 msec in connected discourse ,..but the average duration for unstressed vowels, including schwa is about 70 msec." Oller (1971) reported a English ratio of stressed/unstressed of 1.6 and Smith (1978:45) concluded that "the effect of stress on vowel duration in English appears to be substantial but somewhat variable. Estimates of increases in duration range from about 50-90%." Regardless of the exact estimate, most of these figures would gauge the effect of stress to be measurably larger on English syllables than on the corresponding Spanish ones, on the average.

In regard to the second specific difference---prepausal lengthening---Delattre (1966, cited by Pinkerton 1981) found that vowels in syllables before pause in Spanish were only about 30 msec longer than vowels in syllables in other phrase positions. For English, Oller (1971) found that this effect could add 100msec to a pre-pausal vowel.

Summing up, Smith (1978:44) observed, this constitutes 50-60% increments of final over non-final vowels."

The status of pre-pausal lengthening in English as a perceptual cue to boundaries or utterance termination has often been speculated upon. Although many languages show a very small increase in pre-pausal syllables (like Spanish), this small increment is believed by some phoneticians to be caused by universal constraints of the vocal mechanism; the large increments in English, it is claimed, represent a grammaticalization of a universal phonetic tendency (Pinkerton 1981). If it is true that this large increment is used by English listeners as a perceptual cue to utterance termination, then the failure of a second-language speaker to produce it could conceivably be construed as a feature of "foreign accent."

Previous studies of Spanish ESL students do appear to show less pre-pausal lengthening than in native English speakers (Pinkerton 1981). Also, impressionistic reports of syllable-timing in Puerto Rican speakers (Anisman 1975) may rely to a certain extent on both sorts of timing characteristics; perhaps, this group of English speakers is simply more variable in both stressed/unstressed differences and in the extent of pre-pausal lengthening.

It is methodologically a very thorny problem to get at either of these timing differences through use of a spontaneous speech corpus recorded in the field. In part, this has to do with intervening noise or overlapping speech; it also stems from the difficulty of finding the same syllable in different positions. Given these difficulties, the focus of timing measures was set at differences between stressed and unstressed syllables; at the outset, such measurements seemed the relatively more feasible ones.

However, one problem with such comparative measurements is that the duration of syllable-nuclei in both Spanish and English may be influenced by a number of factors. Among these are:

(1) Intrinsic vowel quality. Tense vowels may be longer than lax ones, everything else being equal (Lehiste 1970).

(2) Effects of consonantal environment. In English, vowels are quite a bit longer before tautosyllabic voiced obstruents than they are before the corresponding voiceless ones. English listeners use such differences in perception of speech (Greenlee 1978).

(3) Number of syllables in the word. In polysyllabic words in English, the duration of syllables may be less the more of them there are (Cf. Klatt 1976).

(4) Rate of speech. Lehiste & Peterson (1960) found that in English, an increase in speech rate was generally manifested by shortening the unstressed syllables, with the stressed ones staying relatively the same. Thus measurements on fast speech, all else being equal, would be likely to show more stressed/unstressed differences than in slow speech. The manner in which such rate increases are perceived in Spanish versus English is also a problematical issue (Cf. Pointon 1980).

Unfortunately, the magnitude of these difficulties was not fully apparent until some speech had already been selected and digitized and some preliminary measures carried out (see Method Section).

In describing the actual acoustic measurements, the timing measures will be discussed before those concerned with fundamental frequency differences. However, at this point, it is appropriate to give a preliminary description of the relevant contrasts between Spanish and English in use of this parameter.

In reviewing the literature, some very specific questions about the use of fundamental frequency turned up, particularly as related to the syntax or semantics of particular sorts of sentences (e.g., lists, contrastive "stress"). The only available acoustic study of Puerto Rican Spanish (Kvavik 1978:193ff) offered just suggestions about potential dialect differences between this variety and Mexican Spanish, finding that "the Puerto Rican (speaker) appears to use...semirises and falls...more than do the Mexicans and has more 'level-sounding' intonations than they do." As mentioned above, this study was based on only 49 seconds of recorded speech from a single individual.

Pedagogical works (such as Stockwell & Bowen 1965) and other descriptive treatments (e.g., the various works of Navarro Tomás) suggested that Spanish speakers, by and large (obviously a lot of variability is hiding here), tend to use a narrower range of fundamental frequency variation than do English speakers. With regard to the shape of the fundamental frequency contour, contrastive analysis studies (such as that of Jones 1962) suggested that the major point of pitch-cbtrusion in Spanish sentences may be more near the beginning of the sentence than in English sentences, although individual utterances doubtless vary considerably. For example, some research has suggested that yes/no questions occasion a higher fundamental frequency over the entire phrase from that in comparable declaratives (Massone 1982). Given that little is known about what semantic and discourse factors might affect such general contours or how they might differ across dialects or individuals,any potential statements are, at the moment, speculation.

Nevertheless, it seemed that from the generalizations made about the narrow F_o range in Spanish and the sparse literature on Black English use of pitch, potential contrasts were worth exploring. Specifically, Black English casual speech has been described as containing a wide range of pitch (F_o maximum versus minimum) at least from listener-transcriber impressions (Tarone 1973). This range has been reported as subjectively greater than that of whites.

Given that all of these basic statements are subject to unknown variation, one might expect a person whose English is Spanish-influenced to show less pitch range than a speaker whose English was perceived as more similar to that of a Black English speaker. This was the original hypothesis explored in acoustic analysis of two speakers.

To recap, specific hypotheses explored concerning acoustic differences in the English of Puerto Rican speakers were:

(1) A speaker who appears to be more Black English-sounding may show a greater range of Fo than a speaker whose English appears to have a heavy Spanish accent.

(2) A Spanish-accented speaker will show less difference between stressed and unstressed syllable-vowels than will a speaker whose English appears to be more like that of a native New Yorker.

2.0 Methods

After listening to several tapes, it was decided to select for analysis those portions recorded as part of the interview, not because this situation is ideal sociolinguistically, but because it was generally the least noisy and the one which all speakers shared. Since prosodic characteristics are somewhat easier to measure in male speakers, only men's speech was analyzed from the Centro's corpus.

At first, the focus was on the four speakers whose speech is analyzed transcriptionally in Section 5 of the paper . Passages in English and Spanish were examined with the following criteria in mind: the passage should come from relatively continuous talk, should be as noise-free as possible, and should be more or less representative of the speech of the person during the interview. Given the difficulties in meeting all these criteria with the naturally-occuring data and the complexity of the acoustic analysis which was to be performed, I decided to focus on the two speakers whose demographic and speech characteristics seemed the most different, Franco and Capitán. A contrast between these speakers would constitute a comparison of extremes, and if the acoustic analysis failed to show relevant differences between these two speakers, it probably was not worth pursuing, at least not along the same lines.

2.1 Procedures Through the generous cooperation of William Labov, director of the University of Pennsylvania Linguistics Laboratory and with extensive help from David Graff, a graduate student and programmer in the Lab, I was able to use ILS programs to digitize segments of English speech to be used for duration and F_o measures. ILS routines were used to record, play back, analyze speech files and to record the resulting data on floppy disks.

Although in the beginning, such a computer conversion seemed advantageous, since the same, rather long files could be analyzed along several parameters and the data stored on disk, segmentation from wave-forms and extraction of F_o information in conjunction with segmental information proved to be fairly arduous. For some types of segments, wave-forms simply do not present enough visual information for reliable segmentation (e.g., distinguishing between vowels and sonorant consonants, Cf. Ladefoged 1982). During the summer, the program for playing back recorded files was modified so that segmentation could be accomplished while hearing specific, marked, portions of the recorded wave-form. From listening to those portions of the wave-form in which a spectral change seemed to occur, using a narrow time window, it was possible to facilitate segmentation somewhat, although difficulties remained due to noise in the signal and to the low sampling frequency, which reduced overall spectral information.

In recording speech for analysis, the sampling frequency had been set low in order to gain more length in the portions which could be analyzed at once. At the time the files were recorded, the sampling frequency and length of files were connected in such a way that three seconds of speech could be sampled using a frequency of 5000 hertz, which effectively cuts out information about the high frequency sounds (fricatives) but allows for analysis of F_o contour.

For extraction of fundamental frequency from the digitized speech files, one of the algorithms in the ILS package, from the SIF routine was used (Cf. Graff 1982). A separate program was written by David Graff to print out F_o values for files vertically on an oversize computer page. Fundamental frequency was sampled every 10 msec and printed out. From these readouts, pitch contours were hand-plotted. After segmentation of the wave-forms, the pitch data were matched with the consonant, vowel, and syllable durations. Again, the matching was done by hand, making it quite tedious.

A total of 70 files were digitized on the ILS system and pitch data were printed out in the vertical pattern described above.

3.0 Results

3.1 Timing measures

Impressionistically, Franco and Capitán's speech rate differs considerably, and this was borne out by the difficulty in capturing 3 seconds of Franco's speech without breaking the utterance in the middle of a syllable. Franco seems to be orating, with longer, continous speech than Capitán, whose utterances in the chosen passage were generally quite short. Among those variables whose effect can not be fully gauged in this exploration, then, we would have to include those connected with speech rate differences.

Before any quantification of vowel durations in the two speaker's passages are presented, it should be emphasized that the two sets of data were not equally analyzable. In particular, Capitán's tape was quite noisy, which introduced some unresolvable problems of segmentation, as well as considerable difficulties in determining F_o (see below). Given this factor as well as those mentioned above, durations are likely to include quite a large and unknown margin of error. Preliminary durational data is presented in the interests of breadth, but this MUST not be considered without taking along with it the limitations of the analytic techniques.

Table 1 presents some very tentative values for stressed and unstressed syllable vowel durations for the two speakers.

Table 1

Tentative duration data on vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables for two speakers

	Capitán		Franco	
	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed
N*	27	13	19	27
Mean**	103.3	129.2	85.8	129.3
Standard Deviation	40.3	43.1	45.9	55.6

*This represents a prelimary computation
**Vowels in pre-pausal syllables were not included

As Table 1 shows, the two speakers have somewhat similar values for the stressed vowels, but differ on the shortening of unstressed ones. However, given the tentative nature of these data, the large standard deviations and the extremely small N's, especially for vowels which themselves vary in intrinsic duration, the validity of data in Table 1 may be limited indeed.

There are several ways the generalizability or validity of timing data could be improved. One way was suggested by David Graff and was discussed briefly with W Labov: selection of trisyllabic sequences in which the pattern was S-W-W (strong-weak-weak) in terms of sentence accent, e.g. $\underset{S}{\text{bit}}\ \underset{W}{\text{of}}\ \underset{W}{\text{the}}$ or within a lexical item: $\underset{S}{\text{u}}\text{-}\underset{W}{\text{ni}}\text{-}\underset{W}{\text{ty}}$. Taking such sequences could help in reducing variation due to position (with respect to stress), and such patterns represent instances of extreme duration reduction in most studies of native English speakers (e.g. Umeda 1974; Klatt 1976). In exploring the feasibility of this suggestion, all of the potential candidates of this pattern were searched in Franco and Capitán's data. Although Capitán's data is not ideal, he produces more English of a continous nature than any of the other speakers judged to be Spanish "dominant" in the corpus. In fact, the number of non-noisy, pre-pausal sequences of this pattern was so small that it seemed very likely to be beset by the same problems of variability as the tentative measures reported in Table 1.

Although the objective of this pilot study was not to collect more data, but to pursue questions of interest in the corpus already collected, the relevant acoustic questions, in this writer's opinion, merit systematic data collection for the purpose of phonological analysis. Several phoneticians consulted informally urged such collection because of the potential interest of timing as a typological as well as a sociolinguistic phenomenon.

The ideal situation for such analysis would be a combination of speech production and speech perception techniques. For example, Puerto Rican speakers of English could be recorded, as well as Black speakers, and white New Yorkers reading the same text. If the phonetic content of the text were controlled for its ease of segmentation, there are a number of questions which could be posed of the data: for example, if stress and unstressed vowel durations and pre-pausal lengthening were measured, the exact dimensions of differences in read, laboratory speech could be determined. It would be instructive, having these measurements in hand, to ask trained listeners to determine which (of selected passages) were syllable-timed or which stress-timed, to determine if there is any relationship in fact between the impression of stress or syllable-timing and the acoustic data.

It is also possible to filter such speech so as to remove the segmental material while leaving F_o and timing data intact. It would be interesting to see if a trained listener could reliably pick out the different varieties of speech based solely on the suprasegmental data and not on hints provided by pronunciation of individual segments.

Another potential way to approach such differences would be to engineer casual speech recorded under ideal conditions and compare speech-timing variables of the three types of speakers in their casual speech in comparison to that recorded while reading.

In the course of reviewing work on Spanish and English timing and of carrying out the preliminary analyses reported here, the paradoxical nature of timing in speech production and in speech perception was brought out. It seems likely that this is not only a phonetic/phonological effect, but also one which has sociolinguistic consequences. As Householder pointed out (1957:244), listeners listen with a bias which makes them "hear things that aren't there", but acoustic analysis can only measure "all those factors which induce us to hear what isn't there." In further work on timing variation, a combination of production and perception data would significantly enhance the knowledge about how the illusion is created and persists.

3.2 Fundamental frequency measures

The main question considered in analysis of F_o concerned the range of pitch variation compared across the two speakers. As described in the Procedures section, F_o values were printed vertically as extracted through an ILS program and later these values were plotted by hand. It was during this latter stage that it became obvious that values for Capitán were spurious. The plots contained some very odd jumps up and down in pitch, including some printed for sections in which Capitán was not speaking at all. It turned out that Capitán's tape not only contained noise, but the noise had harmonic components, so that the pitch extraction algorithm was considering the noise along with the speech in picking out fundamental frequency. This problem meant that English pitch data was available for only one of the two speakers, Franco.

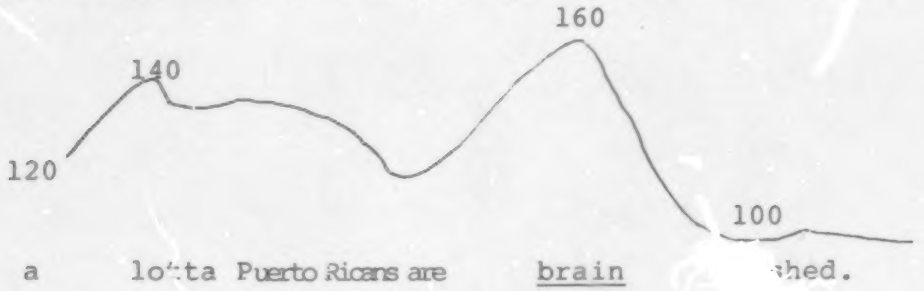
Franco's fundamental frequency on non-stressed syllables was usually between 100 and 120. The values recorded for range of pitch over a sentence are parallel to those Hudson & Holbrook (1982:25) recorded in spontaneous (laboratory) speech of Black adults. Their male talkers showed a mean range of 80-166Hz, with a mean fundamental frequency of 108Hz. Franco's fundamental frequency is within the area they outlined and over the course of a phrase, the mean difference Franco used (about 80 Hz, with a standard deviation of 32.9 Hz) is similar to the range they found with many more speakers.

Figure 1 shows some representative contours from Franco's files. (Note that these are not drawn to scale, but only free-hand; plotted contours are extremely large and would need to be scaled down.) The main utility of these contours would be as confirmation for the impressionistic transcriptional data reported in Section 5 of the paper. As in the discussion of timing variables, it is valuable to have not only the data from speakers' produced acoustic trace, but also to know how the actual acoustic differences match or disagree with those that listeners perceive. As Ladd explains (1980:134), "Linguistic phenomena...are both physical and cognitive. An intonation contour leaving a speaker's vocal tract is a physical event, fair game for a machine. But the perception of the contour by a listener is a cognitive event..." which is not measurable by the same means.

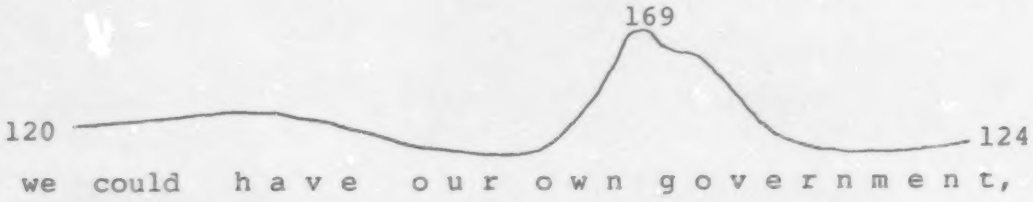
Figure 1

Representative fundamental frequency contours in Franco's English sample*

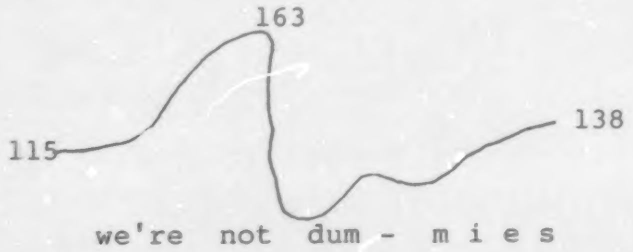
1. Approximate contour for one summary statement in Franco's data:



2. The large rise on own followed by the fall is quite striking to the listener and seems to indicate emphasis:



3. An example of what Liberman & Sag (1974) have called the 'contradiction contour'



*Numbers represent fundamental frequency in Hertz.

4.0 Summary and conclusions from acoustic analyses

Although the original questions posed by this exploratory study would be relevant to sociolinguistic as well as purely phonetic descriptions of Puerto Rican English, the results were not sufficiently clear to say what distinctive fundamental frequency and timing characteristics in demographically different speakers might be.

In part, this was due to a mismatch between the type and amount of data available, and to the analytic techniques which were very sensitive to variation, both from noise in the signal and other linguistic factors which were uncontrolled.

Although the planned comparisons were in fact not fully completed for fundamental frequency, the match or mismatch between the acoustic and transcriptional analysis for Franco would make for a worthwhile meta-analytic study, i.e., does intonation from the speaker's point of view match that of the hearer's (or linguist's)?

Finally, to investigate the relevant prosodic variables from an acoustic point of view, further data collection would be inescapable. Since timing in particular is affected by so many variables, unless the recording context is carefully engineered, the phonetic basis for impressions like syllable-timing versus stress-timing may remain as obscure as they are at present.

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